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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1778

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PRESIDIUM OF HUNGARIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY CONVENES

Budapest ORSZAG-VILAG in Hungarian 27 Feb 80 pp 2-3

[Unsigned article: "National Presidium of MSZBT Meets"]

[Text] A populous, national leading body has held a conference. Representatives of every stratum of society and people of the most varied ranks and occupations discussed their timely tasks and problems, leading representatives and activists of the cause of Hungarian-Soviet friendship in our homeland, those for whom the mutual friendship binding our peoples is not social work but rather has become the practice of their everyday activity.

In accordance with tradition on this occasion also the National Presidium of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society (MSZBT) held its session in the Hunter Hall of Parliament.

After the opening words of Antal Apro, a member of the Political Committee of the MSZMP and president of the Society, Janos Berecz, a department chief in the Central Committee of the MSZMP, gave a report on timely questions of the international situation in the light of the Lenin peace policy of the Soviet Union.

In his introduction he pointed out that the complex, contradictory character of international relations in our day is interdependent with the simultaneous existence of socialism and capitalism, the struggles spreading to every area of lie and, at the same time, the common interest attaching to avoiding a total armed clash. He emphasized that the crucial factor in the future development of the international situation is the fact that our friend and ally, the Soviet Union, is consistently conducting its peace policy today, when tensions have strengthened in the world after a decade of detente. The speaker emphasized the unchanged validity and increased timeliness of the peace program announced at the 24th congress of the CPSU and confirmed at the 25th congress. He pointed out that the principles and concrete aspirations of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are unchanged today--to maintain the process of detente and to preserve and further develop the achievements of it. This corresponds to the interests of all mankind and, at the same time, it ensures favorable international conditions for the revolutionary changes unfolding in the several countries.

Following this Kornel Haynal, a member of the National Presidium of the MSZBT and editor-in-chief of ORSZAG-VILAG, reported on the tasks of the Society in the year of the 35th anniversary of our liberation. He emphasized that a worthy celebration of this historically significant anniversary is an important task for the member groups of the MSZBT. This outstanding event is a good occasion for the movement to take account of itself, to review the path followed thus far and to prepare for and lay foundations for the immediate and more distant tasks in the light of the party congress. It is the honorable and responsible task of the activists of the Society to transplant into the young generation, those who will be the builders of socialism tomorrow, the feeling of sincere repsect and friendship for the Soviet Union which is based on historic experiences and profound conviction. In this way we can ensure the further growth of internationalism and of what we have achieved on the soil of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. The members of the National Presidium of the MSZBT and the presidiums of the member groups should proudly undertake this consciousness forming activity with which we can contribute to the strengthening in our people of the ideal of internationalism and fraternal solidarity with the countries of the socialist community and with the forces struggling for social progress. They do this in the profound conviction that the friendship and many-sided cooperation of the Hungarian and Soviet peoples serve our most intimate national interests and the universal interests of socialism.

Those speaking in the debate were: Imre Gyori, secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, Bela Bodi, director-general of the Gagarin Thermal Power Plant Enterprise, Sandor Bajnok, mechanization chief engineer of the 7 November agricultural cooperative in Bata, Dr Zsigmond Karika, deputy director-in-chief of the National Oncology Institute, Erzsebet Haraszti, horticultural engineer of the Kiskunhalas State Farm, Jozsef Gesztesi, director-in-chief of the Gyor Teacher Training College, and Sandor Nagy, director of the MEZOGEP Enterprise in Nyiregyhaz.

Following this the National Presidium relieved First Secretary Maria Nagy of her office, because of retirement and recognizing her merits, and elected her a vice-president of the MSZBT. Antal Apro, president of the MSZBT, praised the merits of Maria Nagy with warm words. On the recommendation of the Managing Presidium the body elected comrade Gyula Biro to be first secretary of the Society.

Photo Caption: Gyula Biro, the new first secretary of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, held various offices in the youth movement between 1949 and 1962. Beginning in 1962 he was first secretary of the MSZMP committee for Siofok Jaras; beginning in 1969 he was a secretary of the Somogy Megye party committee. Since 1975 he has served in foreign affairs.

Photo Caption: The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic has awarded Maria Nagy the decoration "For a Socialist Hungary" in recognition of her more than three decades of labor movement activity and her work in the MSZBT. The award was presented Friday afternoon by Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council.

Maria Nagy held the responsible office of first secretary for more than 10 years. She is an experienced party worker, a modest and dear person, who did much with her work to cultivate and deepen Hungarian-Soviet friendship. During the 10 years the member groups of the MSZBT came into being throughout the country and the activity of the Society was enriched with many new initiatives and color. The link with the Federation of Soviet Friendship Societies and with the leading body and member groups of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society is favorable and fruitful. The justly popular Maria Nagy is not saying farewell to the Society and its activity, she will continue to work as a vice-president of the MSZBT and her experience will be made use of.

8984
CSO: 2500

BRIEFS

CARCANI AT NATIONAL AKTIV--A national aktiv on cotton growing was held in Berat on 27 February. It reviewed the fulfillment of the 1979 tasks in cotton growing and outlined the tasks for 1980. Attending were cotton growing labor team leaders and specialists, officials of agricultural sections attached to executive committees of the district people's councils and leaders of cotton growing agricultural units. Also attending were Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and First Deputy Premier; Mine Guri, First Secretary of the Berat District Party Committee; Dhimiter Brisku, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Berat District People's Council; and others. Themie Thomai, Minister of Agriculture, reported on the fulfillment of the 1979 cotton production plan and the dissemination and application of useful cotton growing experience of Berat District and of distinguished agricultural units in this field. Adil Carcani also addressed the aktiv. [AU280716 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Feb 80 AU]

SPIRO KOLEKA ACTIVITIES--The 65th birthday of Comrade Hysni Kapo, one of the most distinguished natives of Vlore District, was commemorated throughout the district in centers of work and production, agricultural cooperatives, military units and so forth. War veterans lectured on his life and activity. A meeting was held on the occasion also at the "Hysni Kapo" Higher Naval School. Cadet Zeqiri Mero spoke about Kapo's activity in strengthening and modernizing the armed forces of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. A meeting was also held in Terbac village, Hysni Kapo's birthplace, in the city of Vlore. A biographical film was shown, depicting Hysni Kapo's life and activity. The show was also attended by Spiro Koleka, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [AU042100 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Mar 80 AU]

HAXHI LLESHI ACTIVITIES--The People's Council of Kilonje District met today in the city of Erseke to review the plan and budget results in 1979 and to discuss the 1980 plan and budget. In addition to the members of the council, the meeting was also attended by chairmen of the people's councils of villages, managers of economic enterprises, chairmen of agricultural cooperatives and other party and state cadres. Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Mar 80 AU]

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY--On the occasion of Women's International Solidarity Day, a meeting was held at the "Partizani" sports palace in Tirana. The meeting was attended by working people from production centers, agricultural cooperatives, central institutions, war veterans and others. AWP Central Committee Politburo members Adil Carcani and Rita Marko; Pilo Peristeri, AWP Central Committee Politburo Candidate member; AWP Central Committee members Nexhmije Hoxha, Fiqret Shehu and Vito Kapo, as well as other guests. A speech was delivered on the occasion by Lavdija Leka, deputy chairman of the Albanian Women's Union. [AU082038 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Ma 80 AU]

ALEKSANDER XHUVANI CENTENNIAL CONFERENCE--A scientific conference was held today in Tirana by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the occasion of the centennial of the birth of Aleksander Xhuvani, one of Albania's most distinguished scholars, pedagogues and linguists. In addition to workers in the educational and cultural fields, veteran teachers and former pupils and collaborators of Aleksander Xhuvani, the session was also attended by party and state leaders Ramiz Alia, Manush Myftiu, Spiro Koleka, Simon Stefani, Qirjako Mihali and others. The conference was also attended by scholars from Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia. Aleks Buda, president of the Academy of Sciences opened the session, which was then addressed by Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami. [AU141931 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 14 Mar 80 AU]

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AKTIV--The Ministry of Education and Culture organized a national aktiv on the problems of culture in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture in Tirana. In addition to officials representing the cultural sections of the People's Council of all districts, representatives of central institutions and others, the aktiv was also attended by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Gaqo Nesho, Tirana District Party Committee First Secretary; Fiqret Shehu, AWP Central Committee member and Director of the "V. I. Lenin" Party School; Lumturi Rexha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the union of working youth of Albania, and others. The opening speech was delivered by Minister of Education Tefta Cami, who stated that the aktiv would reflect the successes attained in the field of cultural development under the party's and Enver Hoxha's leadership and set out further tasks relating to the implementation of the decisions of the Seventh AWP Congress in the cultural field. [AU141443 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 14 Feb 80 AU]

CSO: 2100

ONE ASPECT OF DAILY LIFE DESCRIBED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Stanislav Drumeshki: "Unhelpfully on the Topic of Services"]

[Text] It has been said that services are a constant companion of our daily life. A number of good wishes have been formulated concerning them. Decrees have been promulgated and pledges have been given. Yet (ah, this Chekhovian "yet") . . . still little is being done when it comes to a smile, a kind word, accuracy and, above all, quality. Naturally, we should not be pessimistic and claim that nothing has been accomplished. Mechanization has been applied here and there, material facilities have been improved, and the standards of many workers have been raised. Despite this, however, services in the true meaning of the term largely remain a missing article in our lives.

For example, one is at home looking vaguely in the direction of one of the steam heat radiators. Horrified, one discovers that one of the links between the gills has begun to form a tear and then to run. One's hair stands on edge. What if it starts pouring?! One runs to the telephone, dials a few numbers and finally discovers the location of the repair service for Iztok district. Quite worried one reports the fact only to hear the standard answer: "We are very busy and the moment we are free we shall come immediately." It is precisely this "we shall come" that is so painfully familiar to the citizens, for it usually lasts an indefinite amount of time. So long as to force the mobilization of the entire family to start throwing out hot water in buckets and jars by the hour. When the "repair men" finally come, it turns out, suddenly, that their working time is over and, if one is agreeable, the repair may be done on a "private basis," and everything will be in order. It will even be worth a drink (from one's own stock, naturally).

The other day I came across an acquaintance. A person with connections. However, he, too, complained as follows: "I was moving to a new apartment and requested a truck. My request was politely accepted and the truck was scheduled to come at 0800. No one had shown up by noontime. I had to resort to the services of a neighbor--a truck driver. When

the moving was over, toward 1400 hours, the truck showed up. The reason for the delay was that the driver had an urgent private matter to attend to."

That is how even a person with connections finds himself powerless, not having thought of establishing connections with. . . the hired truck service.

Let us consider the problem of keys, of most ordinary keys for cars or doors. As to cars (which are frequently sold with one instead of two keys), services in Sofia are shared by the state, represented by the services workshop on Iskur Street, and a private craftsman operating out of a wooden hut in the Ivan Vazov district. The workshop is in no hurry. It would make a casting in one week and, quite frequently, the casting would be defective. When it comes to cars the situation may be tolerable. Yet, consider what would happen if you live in the Mladost-2 district or in Knyazhevo. You have purchased a Pigur door lock but, unfortunately, have lost two of the keys. You have only one left and who should have it first?! You run to Iskur Street. They take away your only key and ask you to come in a week. The solution here is to take leave of absence and become the watchman of the house until the keys are made. You are watching night and day, as thieves could not be trusted. Actually, why should you blame the locksmiths? The fact that you are nervous, you are losing time, and are puzzled as to how it is possible to cast keys in only one place in the entire capital is your business!

Should we go on? No point, as the list of examples is long. Matters get quite sticky should we raise the question of intellectualizing some services. One thing only is extremely clear: The people providing services to the citizens and, above all, their managers must understand that their work cannot be done carelessly. It is a major social assignment and partly results in major social consequences. The sooner they realize this the greater the favor they will do to themselves.

5003
CSO: 2200

MAMULA ON ECONOMIC TASKS IN 1980

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Feb 80 p 3

[Article by Miroslav Mamula, head secretary of the North Moravian Kraj Communist Party Committee: "For Quality Work in 1980"]

[Text] The working people of our kraj have made a good start in this jubilee year. Through their enterprising, devoted, and active work, not only in 1979, but also in all the past years, conditions have been created for the fulfillment of the tasks of the entire Sixth Five-Year Plan. At the threshold of its final year, we weigh in our minds, balance out, and analyze the reasons for successes, but we also look for the reserves that we wish to make use of in further work.

In accordance with the resolutions of the 15th Party Congress and the sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, we systematically raise our demands for comprehensiveness of party-political and ideological educational work. We systematically influence the creative initiative and activity of the workers for the purpose of achieving higher quality and effectiveness of production. We are organizing a day-to-day struggle for the realization of economic and social policy, and are intensifying and improving control over the party resolutions in the decisive sectors of social life, especially in the area of material production.

Party organs and organizations play the main decisive and inspirational role in the organization and development of important movements and the record-breaking efforts of the working collectives. Communists in absolute majority serve as an example in the struggle for the daily fulfillment of the assignments, and this is a decisive factor in increasing the activity of the broad ranks of the workers.

Testing of Action Capability

In the course of the 5-year plan to date, along with the efforts toward fulfilling the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, the qualifications and the action capabilities of the kraj party organization, and also of the national committees and the National Front and of dozens of working

collectives received their best and most comprehensive test in 1979 itself. That year tested out their abilities and capabilities to overcome difficult problems, and to fulfill economic, political-organizational, and ideological-educational tasks in all sectors of social life.

Thanks to the broad mass political work of the party, and the understanding support and initiative of the workers of North Moravian kraj, it was possible during the month of May to eliminate the shortfall in the production of goods in the amount of 707 million korunas which had arisen as a consequence of the well-known difficulties at the beginning of 1979. This was the basic prerequisite for the attainment of positive results in the fulfillment of last year's targets.

In industry, the state plan was exceeded by 597 million korunas, with a 3.3 percent year-to-year growth. In construction, we expended 7.5 billion korunas with a growth rate of 2.7 percent.

The assignments in production for the domestic market and for export were fulfilled. We exceeded our deliveries for capital construction by a wide margin. We achieved a lowering of investment outlays for production, and assured the planned profit.

The farmers fulfilled the state plan for the production of bulk feed, potatoes, and vegetables, and also the plan for the production of sugar. In livestock production, the procurement of milk, eggs, poultry, and slaughter cattle was fulfilled.

Enterprises managed by national committees exceeded their output plan by 53 million korunas.

The National Front organizations also were successful last year in fulfilling complex electoral programs. By the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a value of work of roughly 1.3 billion korunas was effected, which means the surpassing of the initial guidelines.

Developments in other areas of social life also moved along favorably.

We Have Attained New Experiences

The situation that arose at the beginning of 1979 increased the demands for management, organizational, and ideological-educational work of party organs and organizations, of communist-economic workers, of state organs and social organizations of the National Front, and of all workers of our kraj.

We directed our work toward:

--The maximum utilization of all sources of current and materialized labor [labor and capital];

--The most efficient utilization of all types of raw materials, producer goods, and energy;

--Greater utilization of investment funds;

--Further expansion of shift work;

--More rapid implementation and utilization of the results of science in production for increasing the growth rate and quality of the innovational program;

--Improvement of the quality of capital construction and reducing the dispersion in the priorities of supplies for the fuel and energy base; and

--Satisfaction of the domestic market.

For the organization of the political campaign for the fulfillment of the 1979 plan and for the consequent fulfillment of the goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, we proceeded under the watchword: "From the high-quality work of the individual and collective toward the high effectiveness of the entire enterprise." We submitted all our pledges to Comrade Gustav Husak on 17 April 1979 on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the advent of new leadership to the fore of our party.

The results prove that the workers of the North Moravian kraj have sufficient strength under the leadership of the kraj party organization for successfully surmounting even complex conditions. We achieved new experiences, which we are applying this year and in our preparation for entering the Seventh Five-Year Plan period.

By means of all kinds of multifaceted mass political work and organizational activity, we have surmounted the concrete tasks that had been marked out. It was shown, that through concentrated effort, the entire kraj party organization is able not only to fulfill the state plan, but to exceed it as well.

The Important Role of Incentive

We used the exchange of party cards and conversations with every communist in order to commit them to concrete tasks for the fulfillment of the goals of the final 2 years, and of the entire Sixth Five-Year Plan thereby. The method of assignment of concrete goals contributed to a decisive degree to the elimination of the production shortfall, in providing for the targets in the production of milk, and for further decisive sectors of the campaign for the fulfillment of the state plan.

Economic propaganda and agitation also contributed to the successful fulfillment of the tasks. It was more concrete than formerly and was freed of the earmarks of an educational nature, and was expressly oriented toward the decisive goals.

We focused the development of worker incentive and every proven form of socialist competition totally on guaranteeing the production assignments both in industry and in agriculture. New aspects of implementation of the knowledge of scientific and technical developments in cooperation with production were put to the fore.

A considerable part was played by the fact that at the majority of work positions, concrete programs of improving the work and making it more efficient were worked out.

The kraj party committee devoted systematic attention last year to the questions of development and organization of work incentives targeted at bottlenecks in production and at following up of results, knowing that without them, under last year's complex condition, it would not have been possible to fulfill the tasks for the entire year. The kraj committee considers this experience to be crucial even for this year.

In the Spirit of the Slogan: 'Build Power and You Will Strengthen Peace!'

It is not only our obligation, but our duty as well, to learn from the experience of last year's work and to use it for guaranteeing the targets of 1980 and the entry into the Seventh Five-Year Plan. In spite of the positive results, in the enterprises, industry too, and agriculture as well, we still have considerable reserves and deficiencies, which are inherent in the fact that the higher demands for quality of work and the more exact specifications for supplies for both the domestic market and export are not always being implemented, deficiencies in material and technical supply persist, and machinery and equipment are not being utilized fully.

We are directing the incentives of our workers mainly to bringing about an increase in the total output of our economy, and in the effectiveness and quality of all kinds of work, and to provide for the kind of production that our national economy and our society needs, and along with this, we have achieved still better indices of higher quality.

It has become a good tradition among us already that on occasion of significant anniversaries, the development of work incentives and the conclusion of socialist obligations are concentrated on the decisive qualitative aspects of economic growth.

The 35th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army exhorts us to direct socialist obligations and incentives of our

workers in this very direction, and 1980 has been declared to be the year of quality and shock work. This is the most important action with which our workers honor the glorious anniversary and the unveiling of the Memorial to the Ostrava Operation of the Soviet Army in Hrabenov u Ostravy.

With the proclamation of the shock worker year of 1980 and the fulfillment of the tasks which stem from this, the workers of North Moravian kraj are demonstrating their high degree of socialist and international consciousness, their feelings toward the Soviet Union, and their relationship toward the building of a developed socialist society. Along with this, they are also expressing their international contribution to the current struggle against imperialism and war, and for peace in the work, in the spirit of Gottwald's slogan: "Build power and you will strengthen peace!"

This year, the matter of greatest concern is the fulfillment of the 1980 planned tasks and their possible overfulfillment, and by doing this, the fulfillment of the guidelines of the entire Sixth Five-Year Plan and the creation of the prerequisites for the successful launching of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Therefore, we shall direct the development of work incentives and creative activities in 1980 toward the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the way that has been set forth by the 14th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which the North Moravian kraj Communist Party Committee has put into concrete form for the conditions of the kraj in "Goals for Guaranteeing the Economic Tasks in 1980."

Seven Shock-Work Weeks

The central watchword for the guaranteeing of the economic tasks through the development of working incentives and activities in 1980 is: "With high quality work and shock-work efforts in 1980, we shall fulfill the targets of the Sixth Five-Year Plan."

This slogan does not mean a requirement for a greater application of physical efforts, but mainly for the greatest possible utilization of the factors that intensify production, especially of new knowledge of science and technology, political and substantive skill, effective management and organization of work. It includes also the efforts toward the maximum quality of production, the steady running of individual operations, and production regularity.

We want to achieve what the state plan is asking from the North Moravian kraj. We will increase the production of goods by 4.6 billion korunas' worth, the supplies of consumer goods for the domestic market by 200 million korunas' worth, export to socialist countries by 900 million korunas' worth, and to nonsocialist countries by 200 million korunas' worth, and profit by 1.4 billion korunas' worth. We will attain the planned increase in production through an 80 percent increase in labor productivity.

We will subordinate all activity to having the total result be the exceeding of the plan for sales by 1 percent in 1980, which means roughly by 1 million korunas. In this way, we wish to fulfill the tasks which were established for our kraj at the beginning of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Agriculture also has high goals in comparison with last year. The production of grain in our kraj will increase by more than 18 percent, the sugar-beet production will increase by 1 percent, that of flax by 16.9 percent, and turnip production by 54.2 percent. Overall livestock production will rise by 4 percent.

For the fulfillment of these tasks, the workers are accepting socialist pledges. This year, steps are being taken toward having at least 35 work days in 7 shock-work weeks worked out in a shock-work pattern. During those weeks, we wish to attain extraordinary results both in production volume and in the reduction of internal investments, to increase labor productivity, and to improve the quality and effectiveness of production.

The development of incentives is characterized by the exemplary obligations of the collectives of the Ostrava-Karvina Coal Basin. For example, of concern here is the collective headed by Jan Nestak from the Vitezny Unor Mine, by Ferdinand Nagy of the J. Sverma Mine in Ostrava, Jan Sivak of the A. Zapotocky Mine in Karvina okres, and the Socialist labor brigade headed by Eva Joklikova of Moravolen Jesenik, the collective of construction workers of the Ostrava underground construction organizations headed by Stefan Botka, and hundreds of others on whose initiatives a concrete movement has been developed, not only to fulfill the plan, but also to give the republic and the national economy what it needs, even working extraordinary shifts.

According to the Example of the Best

In the agricultural and food complex, in the forest and water resources economy, within the framework of the main slogan the development of incentives will be organized, with account given to the specifics of these branches, the season and the climatic conditions. We shall direct the efforts of agricultural managements and service enterprises in such a way as to achieve regularity in the fulfillment of tasks and to even up the differences between the okreses and the agricultural enterprises. Concerned here, mainly, is the intensification of production and the improvement of the quality of bulk feeds, the achievement of the goals contained in the Prostejov challenge in the production of sugar, the overcoming of the limits reached in the production of grain, and the increasing of the total usability and weight increase of animals.

In the national committees and organizations of the National Front, we shall further develop volunteer work within the framework of Action Z, with the improvement of towns and communities in the spirit of the Krnov challenge for the purpose of fulfilling the electoral program by 7 November 1980.

During the course of the spring and fall changes of the National Front, we wish to attain a value of work in the amount of 300 million korunas.

In the development of work incentives, we base ourselves fully on the ability and consciousness of the brigades of socialist labor, the complex rationalization brigades, and on tested forms and methods of socialist competition. The work of the brigades of L. Sakmar, F. Ogrocky, J. Kral, Vl. Hruskova, E. Joklikova, K. Kubeck, J. Hruska, S. Botka, etc serve as an example to all.

And we continue to provide for development, the use and the application in practice of Soviet methods and experiences, especially the Bassov method, the Saratov and Lvov movements, etc, which contribute to higher quality of socialist competition and effectiveness in production.

A guarantee of the fulfillment of the 1980 targets is the fact that all basic party organizations are concerning themselves with them at the February membership meetings. The communists who have received new party cards will be in the front lines of this crucial campaign.

In the same way, these goals are being discussed in the national committees, and all social organizations of the National Front are doing the same. The Union of Socialist Youth, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League, and other organizations are moving along with enterprising approaches.

The meeting of the kraj party committee, which took place in December and concerned itself with the implementation of the conclusions of the 14th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee under the conditions of our kraj, the meetings of all party organizations and other organizations of the National Front and the national committees, and the discussions of socialist obligations at production conferences and among the work collectives all assure close familiarity with the concrete tasks of this year.

At the same time, there is being created a spirit of mobilization of the people, a spirit of a critical and demanding approach toward quality and effectiveness of all work, and a determination to cope with all tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and to successfully embark upon the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

With this approach, we wish to realize, within the conditions of our kraj, the policy of our Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the further building up of a developed socialist society.

5805
CSO: 2400

'PRAVDA' EVALUATES USEFULNESS OF CRITICISM

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Feb 80 p 1

[Editorial: "A Leninist Tool"]

[Text] Recently, on 21 January, we published a critical article here in Pravda. On the crossroads of ethical action. In this article we pointed out the improper usages of some of the leading workers at Slovak Film Production in the area of financial policy. This article proved to be of exceptional interest to our readers. As is common, the views on it were varied and diverse. The overwhelming majority of readers read it with understanding and agreement. One lone voice questioned whether we had given sufficient consideration to publishing this criticism leveled at communists at Slovak Film Production at a time when the basic party organizations were breathing the heady atmosphere resulting from the distribution of new party membership cards. A certain isolated "functionary" responded by washing his hands of the article and to publically disassociate himself from its publishing. He contended that we should help the film workplaces by closing ranks with them, not perturb them.

This, and other experiences and facts that life presents us with almost daily, forces us to reconsider one of the key characteristics of the Leninist work style, namely, criticism and self-criticism and their basis, meaning and purpose.

It's beginning to look like we are turning into a nation of critics, unrenowned, unfortunately, and not in the best interest of the entire nation, but rebels in the name of own's own subjective "I," in the name of one's own private tastes and plans, in the name of petty bourgeois ideas about how to exploit and abuse the potentials and advantages of socialism. There are even some--and the number of such is not small-who are living a self-indulgent life of pleasure, concerned only about how to get really rich and far too little bothered about participating in making the communal pie. They are dissatisfied with almost everything and everybody, except each with himself. But they know how to raise a howl if anyone steps on their toes, if someone raps their knuckles in the name of justice. When that happens they are not above calling legal punishment "restriction of freedom," and an interruption of their anarchy "repression of democracy."

To be sure, these exceptional cases go beyond the usual limits. When we mentioned a tendency toward becoming a nation of critics we had something else in mind, namely, that we see blemishes large and small on almost everything and everyone. What we meant was that we clearly see the mote in our neighbor's eye, but for all the tea in China we won't see and surprisingly are not bothered by the beam in our own. That we often fulminate hot-headedly and ill-naturedly, call people names, and get all worked up without considering whether such an irritated reaction is appropriate or not; and that we too often rush pell-mell to criticize in general, off the point, and thus to no purpose. If anyone thinks that the practice of criticizing everything and everybody, of spitting from ambush, of pouring his bile where it does not belong are signs of his courage or perhaps of his earnest desire to help matters, he is badly mistaken. Carping criticism is not the criticism we are calling for, that we want and need, that we have to pay heed to and fully support. Carping, slander, disparagement are signs either of the subjectivistic egocentrism of an individual or of his unwillingness and conscious refusal to view life realistically and as a whole, with its positive aspects and the problems and shortcomings that exist in it, or they are proof that he does not understand what is and what is not objective, constructive, pertinent criticism.

In a socialist society there is room and need only for comradely, positive criticism. Bad temper, destructivism, even if they are only isolated signs of hatred we reject uncompromisingly and refuse to allow. Carping is purposeless, harmful, it is the posturing of the "heroic" mouse who declared war on the cat.

What then should and must be correct criticism?

Its purpose and goal is to seek out and to exert an effective influence on solving and eliminating genuine problems and real shortcomings. It makes it possible to penetrate to the essence of the matter, to judge problems and shortcomings against an objective party standard, it makes it possible to overcome mistakes, carelessness, lack of responsibility, incompetence, and elements of subjectivism. It is a help, a warning to comrades to choose a more correct path or to proceed at a more rapid pace. It is a means of improvement and most importantly a way to mobilize forces, to unite them to fulfill the program of the party, to meet the targets of the plan and to increase trust in the party's policies. In the words of Comrade Husak, "criticism, as a comradely form of help, as the communist way of seeking out the most correct solution, must become the ordinary method of working for us."

Nervousness, indifference to facts, bias and underestimation of the importance of context are foreign to comradily criticism, just as are stirring up tempests in teapots, attempts to create self-serving sensations, and making a lot of noise over nothing. Whenever criticism and self-criticism are undervalued, wherever they are feared "as the devil fears the cross," wherever the atmosphere is not conducive to enforcing and cultivating them, that is where opportunism, false solidarity, and satisfaction with mediocrity show up in practical operations. A fertile soil is prepared for negligence, irresponsiblity, flattery, careerism, bribery, extravagence, abuse of office, etc. We can be even more specific: wherever criticism and self-criticism are absent or

wherever administrators let critical comment in one ear and out the other and where they descend to harassing an honest man for pointing out weak points and problems that could be avoided, those are places where subjective shortcomings will become entrenched in organization and management, in supplier-receiver relations, efficiency, effectiveness and quality, and in the rate at which scientific and technological advances are put into practice.

Despite the fact that criticism and self-criticism are an effective tool against infractions of principles, fundamentals, norms, discipline and order, that inculcating them and enforcing them was and remains a vitally important task, even so individuals can be heard from time to time who doubt their importance, reject them, consign them to the flames of hell. The arsenal of their subjective arguments and opinions is as variegated and showy as the clothes of a spendthrift Gypsy woman: rich on the outside, but rationally poor, wretched. When confronted with living reality, its development, requirements and demand, they cannot hold their own. We talked about two such voices in the introduction. We frequently hear from others like these that they are fulfilling their plan under difficult conditions, both foreign and internal. That they're up to their necks in problems, that they're drowning in problems, that people are under stress, and on top of all this they're going to be threatened with criticism?!

We shall attempt to answer these and similar "arguments."

Day in and day out practical life demonstrates to us that building a developed socialist society demands that ever more demanding problems be resolved. The more complex are the problems we are working to resolve, the more sharply do the impediments and shortcomings that prevent us from achieving ever better results stand out. And the more insistently is their final resolution called for. Life is no idyll; anyone who conjures up the illusion that socialism will be easy to build, that it can be done without problems and difficulties, is deceiving himself and others. But we would have the greatest difficulties if we did not see where our shortcomings are, avoided them, covered them up and did not attempt to resolve them, if we shirked the effort to overcome them. We are familiar with the categorical demand of the CPCZ Central Committee's 14th session that we display the greatest exactingness in the struggle against mistakes and shortcomings, that we put the resolutions adopted into practice more consistently, that we increase the effectiveness of control, that personal responsiblity be enforced, and that the level of managerial, organizational and cadre work be raised. All our fine intentions will remain toothless if their transformation into actuality is not accompanied by criticism and self-criticism. For it is precisely this method that, when considered as a process in which shortcomings are laid bare, their causes are analyzed and responsible solutions for them are adopted, will contribute to more quickly and effectively eliminating obstacles and weak points and will guarantee results that are in accord with plans.

It is logical that the demands on those who must insure the realization of tasks increase together with the increasing complexity of these tasks. This is why the party is emphasizing the demand for exactingness in the work of

each of us, whether we are employed in the governmental or the economic sphere, in the national committees or the social organizations. Everyone must start with himself, use his own reserves, resolve the shortcomings in his own work. Further progress, achieved by multiplying positive results and aggressively eliminating weak points, urgently requires raising the level of personal responsibility, working to achieve national goals, emphasizing the value of personal example. If we are sincere and honest about this policy of making great demands, criticism and self-criticism cannot and must not be absent from the struggle. [They are] a helping hand, a weapon in this fight against indifference, wrongdoing and failure to keep up with the tasks and demands of the day.

We have indicated only a few facts that confirm the indispensability of criticism and self-criticism. Anyone who is thinking about how to trim this requirement down or to get around it is deceiving more people than himself and is providing a dubious recommendation of his character.

In a society that is developing progressively and that wants to continue to develop, criticism is as necessary as air itself. It is just as valuable and indispensable when it pinches or even really hurts.

8805
CSO: 2400

BIOLOGICAL CENTER TO BE BUILT IN SOUTH BOHEMIA

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Feb 80 p 4

[Article by (ms): "Biological Center of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences--Construction of an Important Scientific Base in Ceske Budejovice"]

[Text] A part of the long-range plan for this organization of scientific centers of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences pertains to their deployment outside the capital city of Prague, in provincial towns. At the same time, the organization of such centers takes into consideration the economic structure of the area as well as the direction of the local base of higher education which will provide continuous supply of cadres of young scientists in the future. The program for the organization of the South Bohemia biological center is not only the first, but also the most extensive specific instance in the implementation of this program outlined in the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress as the next stage in the development of our basic research.

Its objective is to create preconditions for the development of several biological institutes whose achievements are finding broad applications in agriculture, forestry, health services, and protection and creation of the environment. However, it does not concern the construction of individual laboratories where there is some danger that after a while they might turn into scientific institutes of regional significance, but rather organization of scientific centers with statewide activities, capable of dealing with superior expertise and in international cooperation with complex problems encountered now and to be encountered in the future as a result of a continuous progress of our socialist society in various branches of national economy.

The biological center in South Bohemia will therefore include the following laboratories of the CSAV [Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences]: Institute of Entomology, Institute of Parasitology, Institute for Experimental Botany, and Institute of Environmental Ecology, in whose scope the Hydrobiological Laboratory, formerly a sector of the Botanical Institute, and the Biological Laboratory, which will become an independent laboratory of Soil

Biology of the CSAV, have begun operating this year. Joint laboratories for computer technology, electronic microscopy, and isotopes form today a part of the center. In the final stage workshops for the development of instruments will be organized here to design and manufacture unique equipment and instruments necessary for contemporary sciences. A joint library and a symposium center with lecture halls will constitute a part of the complex.

The construction of this center was planned, and is now implemented, in close cooperation of the CSAV, the South Bohemia kraj committee of the CPCZ, the South Bohemia kraj national committee, and municipal organs in Ceske Budejovice, with full support of the central party and state organs.

A building formerly occupied by a secondary agricultural technical school and gradually adapted as a modern laboratory building served as the initial base for the future center. The District Construction Enterprise in Ceske Budejovice, which is in charge of the reconstruction, has successfully completed the remodeling even ahead of schedule. The first part of the building was put into operation in June 1978, the second in June 1979, and the reconstruction of the entire project will be completed this year in June. Already more than 80 employees are working there at present, among them about 30 young scientists representing a kind of a "vanguard" of all scientific laboratories that will be relocated there from Prague in the future, after the construction of the entire project is completed.

If thus far new cadres of scientists could be selected more or less only from among candidates residing in Prague (the CSAV was unable to assign apartments to the most talented scientists from out of Prague), then it is to the credit of the South Bohemia party and state organs that, as concerns scientists, the situation in Ceske Budejovice has been completely resolved. this makes it possible to select the most talented candidates for scientific work really on a statewide level.

The construction of the Biological Center of the CSAV proper will begin in the area of Ctyri Dvory this year in March. Its first stage, including the construction of the institute of Parasitology and Entomology, with auxiliary operations, a power center and an administrative building will be completed in 1984, to be immediately followed by the construction of the Institute for Experimental Botany, research laboratories, and the symposium center. After the construction of the entire project is completed, the reconstructed building of the secondary agricultural technical school will be occupied by the Institute for Environmental Ecology and by the newly established Institute of Soil Biology. In total, 800 to 1000 workers will be employed in the South Bohemia biological center of the CSAV, which represents nearly one-tenth of the current situation of the entire personnel of the CSAV.

Institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, whose sectors are already operating in Ceske Budejovice, are engaged in statewide programs

and their extensive international cooperation often reaches far beyond the boundaries of our country. They deal with tasks of the state plans for basic research and participate in the fulfillment of scientific tasks of the CEMA as well as in international scientific programs, such as the UNESCO program "Man and the Biosphere." However, even when solving such tasks they must quite naturally cooperate with institutions in their nearest vicinity, and in the South Bohemia kraj precisely this kind of cooperation has rapidly become most efficient.

One may quote such examples as the cooperation of the entomologists with the employees of the Kraj Forestry Administration in the study of the application of ferromons for determination of the situation, and for signalization, of an increased occurrence of gypsy moths, and the joint research of bark beetle, or the cooperation with the Mir unified agricultural cooperative in Chelcice in the study of an integrated method for extermination of insect pests in orchards. In cooperation with the state farm in Trebon and with the state fishery in Ceske Budejovice, the parasitologists focused on the study of fish parasitoses which are causing our fish industry damages amounting annually to many millions. It appears now already that with the workers of enterprises who are keenly interested in the application of new scientific achievements in production, the far-reaching area of South Bohemia represents an ideal base where even the most complex biological problems may be resolved.

The city of Ceske Budejovice has two schools of higher education: the Department of Agronomy of the Agricultural Institute, and a teachers' college. The planning for their development parallels the organization of the biological center of the CSAV, and all preconditions have been created for the development of a complex which will address itself to its own scientific tasks, on the one hand, and on the other, upgrade the level of education by professional training of students in laboratories of the CSAV, and by the participation of the scientists in postgradual study and training programs for aspiring Czechoslovak and foreign scientists.

As throughout the history of the development of the CSAV, in the construction of the South Bohemia biological center the CSAV may again fully avail itself of the selfless aid rendered by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and its experience gained during the organization of that institution's academic town--the Biological Center of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Pushchino near Moscow. Our workers enjoyed the opportunity to get acquainted with every detail of the construction and organization of operations in that most recent, and perhaps the most sophisticated Soviet scientific center. The center of the CSAV, organized in Ceske Budejovice, has already been visited by a delegation of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, led by Academician G.K. Skriabin, its chief scientific secretary, and also by the corresponding member G.R. Ivanitskii, director of the Biological Center of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Pushchino, and G.P. Mironov, scientific secretary of that center. They discussed some forms of direct cooperation.

9004
CSO: 2400

INDRA SPEAKS TO EAST BOHEMIA PARTY AKTIV

Hradec Kralove POCHODEN in Czech 21 Feb 80 p 1

[Summary of speech by Alois Indra: "It Is In Our Power To Implement Resolutions of 14th Plenary Session of CPCZ Central Committee"]

[Excerpt] Comrade Alois Indra, member of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, participated at Hradec Kralove yesterday in the aktiv of party official of the East Bohemia kraj which was convoked by the CPCZ kraj committee. The aktiv, chaired and opened by Comrade Frantisek Tesar, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the CPCZ kraj committee, was attended by the members and candidates of the CPCZ Central Committee and CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission from our kraj, members and candidates of the CPCZ kraj committee and CPCZ Kraj Control and Auditing Commission, deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly and Czech National Council, members of the CPCZ kraj committee's commissions, members of the CPCZ okres committees, and activists selected from the officials of CPCZ kraj and okres committees.

In his opening remarks Comrade Frantisek Tesar emphasized that the aktiv was taking place in the period of February party membership meetings which were determining the principal directions of implementation of the resolutions of the 14th plenary session of the CPCZ Central Committee under the conditions of individual workplaces and areas of our life, and would culminate in CPCZ public meetings in March. Then the meeting was addressed by Comrade Alois Indra, member of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, who commented on the results of the 14th plenary session of the CPCZ Central Committee as well as on topical problems of domestic and international policy.

At the beginning of his speech, Comrade Alois Indra emphasized that the resolutions of the 14th plenary session of the CPCZ Central Committee had been received with approval by the entire public and enjoyed fruitful support by the absolute majority of the working people. The report of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the concluding statement of Comrade Gustav Husak had objectively surveyed the situation. Satisfaction had been expressed with good results, but the causes of existing shortcomings had also been analyzed. The 14th plenary session of the CPCZ Central Committee

had showed the way, how to cope with and eliminate with these shortcomings, and laid down the principal directions for our work. It had stressed the importance of fulfilling the economic tasks in the last year of the Sixth Five-Year as the starting basis for the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

In this context, Comrade Alois Indra assayed the results of the December session of the CPCZ kraj committee which had elaborated the resolutions of the 14th plenary session of the CPCZ Central Committee for special conditions of the kraj. He emphasized the specific and critical nature of the report submitted by the presidium of the CPCZ kraj committee. It was, he said, a guide for action in the okreses and basic party organizations. He pointed out that underlying the report was a good principle of "putting one's own house in order in the first place." Without pertinent, specific criticism, including criticism of specific persons, our life would resemble stagnant waters. Criticism is the motive force of the socialist society, but also a proof that people are not indifferent to things around them.

It is, however, necessary to distinguish pertinent, specific and constructive criticism from "black criticism" which belittles self-sacrificing work of millions of people, disgraces everything good that was achieved, breeds distrust and unrest. To support such criticism is demagogy, manifestation of revisionism and opportunism. Such criticism must get a proper answer.

Comrade Alois Indra then showed how our economy was affected by the external influences, systematic increase in the basic prices of raw materials on the world markets. Despite all these influences which will not decrease in the future, many sectors still do not respond as the situation requires. Old attitudes survive. He mentioned for example the fact that many enterprises, in drawing up their annual plans, asked for larger inputs, investment funds, imports every year, but offered less than was required of them. In this context he emphasized more effective utilization of basic assets and scientific research basis, and called for correct implementation of wage policy and more effective organization and management. He expressed satisfaction with those enterprises whose labor force consisted mainly of women and which utilized their basic assets much more effectively than for example the engineering industry.

He further stated that in coping with the economic tasks it was necessary to proceed with caution but also with courage, to be bolder, to lay big demands on party management and party control. On the examples from the East Bohemia kraj he demonstrated how inferior work resulted in the rejection of products designed for export. He criticized the nonfulfillment of the plan of capital investment projects in the kraj. He reminded the conference that the justified requirement of efficiency and quality of production applied not only to export shipments, but also to the domestic market on which adequate supply of quality goods was an important political task. Most of the people in our country worked honestly, he emphasized, but an ideal situation did not exist everywhere. For this reason, it was imperative to enforce civic and work discipline, to attack greediness, corruption and other manifestations of petty-bourgeois attitudes. He

outlined the planned complex of measures designed to improve management and planning. He pointed out, however, that no systems measure initiated by the center could work automatically. Its success will depend upon more responsible and more demanding attitude of all sectors.

Comrade Alois Indra then spoke of the international situation. In the first place, he emphasized the peaceful effort of the CPSU and of the USSR, and in this context also of the consistent peaceful policy of the CSSR. He stressed that the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union was the guarantee of our security, economic development and sageguards of peace. At the same time, he drew attention to the dangerous policy pursued by the most reactionary circles of the United States whose mouthpiece U.S. President James Carter has recently become.

In conclusion of his speech he pointed out that in these day we would be celebrating the 32nd anniversary of the Victorious February which represented a start for building socialism in our country. On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, he thanked communists and all workers in the East Bohemia kraj for the results achieved in 1979 and expressed conviction that they would successfully cope with the tasks of this year, the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

10501
CSO: 2400

YOUTH ORGANIZATION STRESSES MILITARY EDUCATION, PREPAREDNESS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 31, 25 Feb 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "FDJ Intends To Intensify Military Education of GDR Youth." A translation of the East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Excerpt] The communist GDR youth organization FDJ wants to intensify military education of GDR youth. JUNGE GENERATION, the paper of FDJ functionaries, emphasized in its latest edition: "It is important especially now, after the NATO missile treaty, to perfect the patriotic and internationalistic education of youth, to win the best FDJ members for the military profession, and to further strengthen the will to resist in all youths." It called on youth functionaries to take advantage of the "Week of Comradeship-in-Arms" with the Soviet Union, which takes place every year between 23 February and 1 March, in order to organize "plans to intensify the military theme and to increase defense readiness," and to hold military-political round-table discussions with all young people. Special "Days of Defense Readiness" are being organized for the students in their second year of secondary education, who are the first to complete a full cycle of military education. During a "March of Comradeship-in-Arms" and with other military actions, the students are to demonstrate their "true confession to their defense readiness" and to acknowledge their "comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Union."

Emphasis on Defense Readiness

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 34 No 2, Feb 80 signed to press 9 Jan 80 pp 40-41

[Article by Juergen Grulich, Armed Forces Department, FDJ Central Council: "Convincing Arguments--Personal Commitments--Guidelines for the Military-Political Round-Table Discussions During the 1980 'Week of Comradeship-in-Arms'"]

[Text] The theme of the "Week of Comradeship-in-Arms," which we celebrate traditionally between the anniversaries of the Soviet army and the NVA from

23 February to 1 March, is marked this year by the preparation for W. I. Lenin's 110th birthday, by the 35th anniversary of the heroic victory of the Soviet army over Hitler fascism, and by the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Pact.

Building on experiences gained in our "Signal GDR 30" mass action, we, together with the Society for Sport and Technology, want to make the military-political activities and military sports events held that week the high point of our friendly relations with the members of the Soviet army.

It is important especially now, after the NATO missile treaty, to perfect the patriotic and internationalistic education of youth, to win the best FDJ members for the military profession, and to further strengthen the will to resist in all youths.

Based on the resolutions of the 11th Congress of the Central Committee of the SED and the 11th Congress of the Central Council of the FDJ, it should be the concern of all groups and basic organizations of the FDJ to organize plans to intensify the military theme and to increase defense readiness on the occasion of the "Week of Comradeship-in-Arms," and to make accountable personal commitments. This year, a special task awaits our friends in the second year of polytechnical schools. They are the first to complete a full cycle of military education during the "Week of Comradeship-in-Arms." For that reason, these students are preparing themselves well for the days of defense readiness with the march of comradeship-in-arms and they are making it a clear confession to their defense readiness.

The various friendship meetings with members of the Soviet strike forces in Germany and the armed forces of the GDR in FDJ collectives are to become a lasting experience, rich in ideas, with a view to the abovementioned political high points and to the Fifth Festival of Friendship between GDR youth and the USSR.

In addition to these meetings, we concentrate on the military-political round-table discussions with the theme: "25 years of Warsaw Pact--our class and arms alliance safeguards peace and socialism." Above all, read the materials of the 11th session of the SED Central Committee and the 11th session of the FDJ Central Council.

Points of Emphasis

In free and lively discussions, every girl and every boy is to realize how necessary the safeguarding of peace is, how important it is to make a personal contribution to peace.

Especially important are

--an understanding of the internationalistic character of military protection, the meaning of the socialist defense alliance and the comradeship in class

and in arms with the Soviet Union for the successful realization of our struggle for peace, security and detente;

--the realization that imperialism continuously threatens peace through its growing aggressiveness.

Discuss especially the NATO decision to station new American medium range missiles in Western European territory, and the criminal intentions and actions of imperialistic forces to wipe out revolutionary achievements in Afghanistan and in Iran. It would be useful to speak with the young people about their preparation for active duty, participation in the FDJ's Hans-Beimler-competitions and in military education and premilitary training and the GST's military sports, or about participation in civil defense training.

Everyone Shall Speak

Discussion rounds should not exceed 15 to 20 friends, in order to give each individual the opportunity to ask questions and to express opinions. Alghough this increases the expense and amount of organization and preparation, it will undoubtedly make the talks more effective.

Also turn to other interesting problems of socialist defense and military duty. Honest and convincing answers are just as much in demand as the promise to personally defend socialism and peace.

Also consider appropriate room decorations!

Invited to the talks are Komsomol members, veterans and members of the armed forces, SED and FDJ functionaries, educators, reservists and GST functionaries.

A Good Preparation Secures Success

Every FDJ leader should become thoroughly familiar with current political documents and events and with instructional materials of the FDJ Central Council. A poster, "Week of Comradeship-in-Arms," which also calls attention to the round-table discussions and urges all members to prepare for them, is being designed.

Inform your guests before the round-table discussions about the specific situation of your FDJ collective.

Remember that not only the boys are interested in military-political questions, but that girls are also attentive participants.

Don't forget to evaluate the round-table discussions afterwards in a meeting and to draw appropriate conclusions for the political-ideological work.

9328
CSO: 2300

WRITER COMMENTS ON PREVALENCE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 8 Mar 80 p 1

[Article by B. Bertha]

[Excerpts] My 10-year-old daughter locked herself in the bathroom and was unwilling to emerge. "If you don't come out, we will go away and leave you here," we said, and, pretending to leave, we stepped into the corridor and locked the door. When we heard our frightened daughter dash out of the bathroom, we opened the door and quickly forgave the child. Barley a few minutes later the doorbell rang. Who could it be? It was too late for the mailman and too early for guests. Obviously it must be someone to take the room temperature again. Ever since we have been in the throes of energy conservation, wholly unfamiliar persons burst in at the most unexpected times waving thermometers in the kitchen, the bathroom and sometimes even the closets. I opened the door; many people were standing there including Aunt Kati, the concierge. Both we and they were surprised. It turned out that they had gotten together to foil and capture bandits. A neighbor had noted through the peephole of her door that two strangers were entering our apartment. I thanked them for coming so quickly to our aid, and we drank a glass of wine in our relief. We went through all the motions quite seriously, because there was nothing comic about the scene. It was typical of the mood in our house and in the neighborhood.

Last week two youths who were vandalizing a car at the base of our house attacked the patrolling officers and even exchanged shots with them. As reported in NPESZABADSAG ..."they shot at the officers with air pistols; the latter retaliated by using their weapons in accord with regulations..." The branch of the National Savings Bank which was robbed at noon last month is a mere stone's throw from our place. However, the residents have the greatest problem with gangs of criminals and youngsters who sport stove-pipe trousers as their emblem. They enter the houses or apartment buildings at night, behave in a rowdy fashion, break in and spend the nights there. Breakins and rowdyism are on the increase.

The transition from the "harmless," parasitic stovepipers to criminal gangs is barely perceptible. The harmless stovepipers steal, too, and only time, lack of cash or the appearance of a leader determine the moment when they become activated and turn into thieves and housebreakers. The maze of corridors in the apartment houses provide an ideal hiding place for stovepipers and all parasites who are unwilling to work, who want to go underground and yet enjoy the benefits of technical civilization such as warmth and shelter. Their favorite hiding place is the basement where the furnaces, laundry rooms and meters are located.

A group of "thespian" stovepipers moved into the laundry room adjacent to our door two years ago. At night, when the police raided them, we were awakened and asked to sign the police report. Two jacketed youths were arrested; their weapon was a pneumatic nail hammer. The third youth got wind of the raid and vanished. Two girls were also part of the group: one, a 13-year-old fledgling who had run away from a reformatory; the other, an 18-year-old stupid dame. Her outfit consisted of white boots, a fur coat, assorted jewelry. They had been sprawling on the "dame's" fur coat in the trash of milk containers, cigarette butts and urine stains. They defecated in the closet where the waste disposal chute was located. The police arrested them, but they reassembled, guffawing, the very next morning at the Florian shopping center, well pleased with themselves.

Now car thefts, breakins have resumed in the apartment complex. Evenings turn into nightmares from their rowdyism. At present four shopping center windows have been broken, but there are innumerable broken windows in neighboring shops as well. The glass wall of the stairwell of an apartment building was smashed at 10 in the evening. Disagreeable as the stovepipers are in the Obuda center, they become more and more aggressive as they move their headquarters further out: They ring the doorbells of apartments and when they hear that only a woman is at home with her child, they begin forcing the lock. The defenseless persons inside wait and cower. Recently the tenants have ganged together to thwart breakins. The building was searched with police dogs, but by the time they reached the ground floor, the culprits had escaped. Workers, especially women, off to their jobs at dawn tremble till they get to the elevators.

By now the readers are undoubtedly wondering what the police does about all this. The police is present and struggles, keeping strictly to the letter of the law. The laws and decrees are humane. They are so humane that young gangs who do not work, who live by chase, theft, etc. can disrupt the peace of buildings and apartment complexes with impunity. They cannot be called to account and condemned. It's a good thing if the officer in charge is not reprimanded. However, this humanism does not extend to working women and men. Their peace and security do not count. They merely work and bear all the burdens and obligations of this society. Authorities at all levels expect their understanding--up to the moment when they quit their jobs and become members of a gang themselves. Then, they too will be protected by the humanism of the law.

The number of assaults and murders committed merely from greed, the desire for "luxury" items such as cars is on the increase too.

CSO: 2500

POPULATION FIGHTS INTEGRATION OF GYPSIES

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Feb 80 p 4-6

[Article by Pal Schiffer, Jr., director of documentaries on Gypsies, analyzes the prejudices of the Hungarian public opinion]

[Text] Zsolt Csalog's note on the Gypsy problem (KRITIKA, Oct 79) reports on the appearance of a new form of segregation--based on old and new prejudices--in connection with the creation of the first homogenous Gypsy village. My own experience confirms Csalog's observation: "Numerous villages (mainly so called small villages) have started on the road towards Alsoszentmarton type homogenization in the Transdanubia and in other parts of northern Hungary..."

In Gocsej, megye of Zala, I observed the relocation process of a Gypsy settlement, that of Nemetfalu. During the past two years 13 families have moved to peasant houses from this settlement. One of them (film actor Gyuri Cseplo) had the opportunity to purchase a house in Nemetfalu, another bought one in Csonkahegyhat, the site of the common municipal council designated for development, and finally, one family settled in Kustanszeg (site of the producers cooperative). The others moved to small villages, settlements classified as outer areas, where the purchase of houses by Gypsies was made possible mainly by the flight of the local population.

The process of purchasing a house took months, in some cases years. It was of no use that the house was there, the price agreed upon, OTP (National Savings Bank) and the local councils cooperation and help, the resistance of the local people often prevented the signature of the contract. There was a case, where the neighbors offered a price higher than the one agreed upon, jointly purchased the house selected by the Gypsy family from the previous owner, demolished it, used the bricks for building a new stable, and, finally, happily paid thousands of forints in fines for the unauthorized demolition. It was worth while: they got no Gypsy neighbors.

However, finally the practical implementation of the settlement development policy prevailed. Part of the small villages of Gocsej, unified in larger townships, was classified as outer area, their development (if there was

any) was halted and even reversed. Whoever could afford it, fled to the center of the township or to Zalaegerszeg, where the school is, where there is a doctor, where there is a pharmacy, a store, movie theater, cultural center, bar, where the bus stops or stops more often, and it has a nearby stop. And mainly: where there are more job opportunities within easier reach. Thus, in outer areas of the small villages and even in smaller towns, more and more homes have become vacant. And, no matter how strong the prejudice is, it is nice to sell the old house. If no one else buys it, then even to the Gypsy [can]. It is sure money, OTP pays it in one lump sum, which sometimes takes care of up to one half of the cost of the new house under construction.

Thus, the social benefits granted to Gypsies living in settlements has vitalized the transformation dynamics of the settlement structure, helped the already prosperous families build new homes in the towns designated for development. At the same time, it is obvious that some of the Gypsy families got houses they wouldn't even have dared to dream of a few years ago. However, after some weeks or some months they realize the disadvantages of their situation. I could say: the re-creation of their disadvantageous situation on a different, higher level: for many families, the school, the doctor and the store is now even further away than previously, from the Gypsy settlements of Nemetfalu. The outer area of Vorosszeg (formerly a small village) doesn't even have a bus stop, and the Gypsies living there can only reach the center of Becsvolgy village with a half-hour walk.

However, some non-Gypsies, "Hungarians" have remained in these small villages. Of course, it is the poor, the elderly, those with many children, the disabled, the alcoholics, the bums, in other words, those who have no intellectual, physical and, mainly, financial reserves to migrate or to move inward.

For these people the moving in of the Gypsies makes their position in the lowest strata of society more manifest. So far Gypsies have lived outside the villages, or at their limits, in Gypsy settlements. This situation has now changed: Gypsies have moved to the previously "all-Hungarian" streets of the small villages and outer area communities, which has brought social improvement to the Gypsies and a social deterioration to the Hungarians who could not move away.

This is the most likely explanation of the fact that during the months following the move of Gypsy families prejudices come alive in these areas. The hate for Gypsies becomes passionate, sometimes blind. However, according to my experience, the unfriendliness and hostility of the immediate neighbors disappears, or at least softens after some time. Not so the antipathy of the "more distant neighbors," living in the center of the village. They meet the recently arrived Gypsies only in the store, at the council, in the bar or at the doctor's office. They are not subjected to the force of living side-by-side daily, their hostile feelings do not

soften. The situation changes only in the sense that, paradoxically, prejudices become more "democratic": the more prosperous or luckier people living in the center of the village now regard both Gypsies and non-Gypsies living in the outer areas as less worthy, inferior.

I am trying to approach the houses of the small town in the Zala Megye in pouring rain. My car gets stuck on the dirt road and ends up in the ditch. I try to get help from the nearby houses. The locals inquire: what the purpose of my presence here is? I tell them that I wish to see the homes of the two Gypsy families who are moving into the town. As if I had thrown a bomb in their midst: no help, but a torrent of abuse is poured on me. "We are becoming a Gypsy village! Bring no more Gypsies here! Let them stay where they are...! (And I could continue with some abuse less fit for print.)

After a few weeks the two families have moved into the peasant homes previously abandoned. H.A., 40, laborer on a state farm, father of eight children. Three of his eldest children already have families of their own. Up to now they lived in a 4 x 4 meter shanty at the Gypsy settlement of Nemetfalu. Now they have moved into a peasant home with two rooms and a kitchen complemented with a pantry. The day after the moving H.A. came to me. "There is trouble," he said, "the council won't register my married children."

He asked for my help, and I went to see the "person in charge" at the town council.

The lady in charge at the council indignantly told me that only one family could move into one house. "They don't need three Gypsy families at the same time, there are already enough Gypsies in the town anyway." The essence of her reasoning was the following: the house was given to H.A. so only he, his wife and his minor children could be registered there, otherwise there would be too many of them.

We engaged in a violent discussion. I tried to convince that woman that before, the family had lived in a much smaller house, under unhealthy circumstances; that the old shanty had been demolished the day before, at the council's orders, so H.A.'s married children could not go back. However, these arguments had no effect upon the council's representative. I had to switch over to her own language. I asked her to show the decree prohibiting a Hungarian citizen to receive his children, relatives or anybody in his home. Finally this did it. The lady in charge complained bitterly: "But who can you believe then? The jaras ordered me not to allow more than one family to move into a house..."

I do not know whether the jaras had issued such an order or not. The fact is that finally the whole family was registered in the new home. It is another question how the H.A. family felt about becoming residents of this town. And it is another question again what would have happened if H.A.

had not known me or someone else capable of helping them in such a situation. Because similar lawless acts occur almost everywhere where Gypsies live.

Sometimes they don't break the law, only its spirit, in a hardly objectionable, difficult-to-prove way.

The manager of the AFESZ restaurant in the town of Sarosd, megye of Fejer, proudly tells me that there is a disco functioning in the restaurant from 5 pm on Sundays. They close half of the premises, charge a five forint admission and put out a sign that only decently dressed persons are admitted. He winks slyly: "This way we keep the Gypsies out."

The driver of a bus number 7 in Budapest introduced a thoughtful service: he warns the passengers over the loudspeaker when Gypsies get onto the bus. Something like this: "We have Gypsies on board, please mind your wallets."

To complement this, it comes naturally to mention a report by ESTI HIRLAP on the arrest of a notorious pickpocket. The skilled thief said: his method consisted of working near Gypsy passengers in fully packed vehicles, so these drew all suspicion and attention to themselves, while he was able to comfortably empty pockets and handbags.

From here, the case of a cafeteria on Mexico Avenue is only one step. The story aired in the radio program entitled "168 Hours" can be summarized as follows: the manager of the cafeteria decided to deny admission to Gypsies. The reason (or excuse) was provided by the behaviour of a noisy group consisting of drunken Gypsies. However, the following day, a woman and her child suffered the humiliating consequences of the decision. The radio reporter tried desperately to question the manager on whether she would close the place if Hungarians behaved improperly next time. A brilliantly hitting question. There was only one problem. The good manager did not understand it. She was unable to perceive the parallel the reporter was attempting to show her.

As the woman in charge at the council did not understand my question on whether she could register her own family in her house, and as the restaurant manager in Sarosd saw it as self-evident that Gypsies should somehow be kept away from the Sunday disco, neither did it occur to the manager that she was doing something contrary to public thinking.

Because maybe she was not... Although official public opinion is contrary to discrimination against Gypsies, to prejudiced thinking and practice, we find prejudices against Gypsies, the negative stereotype, although in varying degrees and of varying character, almost in all strata of the non-official public opinion.

When the press published the brutal murder of sergeant-major Karoly Gyulai, the rumor spread with the news in Budapest in a question of days: Gypsies did it. There was also an explanation that was supposed to confirm the

rumor: a Hungarian does not kill this way. (So how does he?) Later the wave of gossip was complemented: It could be Arabs or Afghans, but by no means Hungarians.

On July 22, enlisted man Karoly Dobay deserted the army. It was reported that he had shot the police patrol who demanded his documents and used his weapon also against the military patrol.

My famous journalist friend told me the following day how the deserter had been captured, adding: "It's a pity this soldier is a Gypsy... As that policeman was also murdered by Gypsies." I don't know to whom this "it's a pity" was addressed. Maybe to me, the director of films on Gypsy themes, maybe to the fact that the famous journalist himself had experienced racial discrimination in the past. Thus the wording became more shaded, however, the contents of the information are just as biased as they are in the case of those not using "it's a pity." It did not occur to my journalist friend to check the truth of the rumor, just as most of the unofficial public opinion still thinks that the perpetrators in both cases were Gypsies. (Not even the fact that family names ending in "y" are not common among Gypsies caused any doubts.) Following the arrest of the policeman's murderers the rumor started again: Gypsies did it. Someone had seen five handcuffed Gypsies; it was easy to associate them with the news: it's them...

We could say that this is a world of gossip and rumor, that wild and astonishing news have always circulated in Budapest, and that a more thoroughly planned, more conscientious information service could prevent it. However, I am afraid that rumors, the world of non-official information not only disclose the weaknesses and omissions of the official press, but it also shows the actual feelings and views of part of the public opinion in connection with certain occurrences.

After the premier of my film "What Are the Gypsy Children Doing?" in 1974-75, I participated in 50 conferences in different parts of the country, before different audiences. Four years later, after my film "Gyuri Cseplo" I took part in almost 100 similar conferences with presentation of slides. By then we had organized a team, with the participation of sociologists, writers, film critics; altogether the number of organized discussions, conferences amounted to a total of two hundred. Forty of these were taped by the people of the Mass Communication Research Center and were computer analyzed. (Andras Szekfu's paper based on this material will be published this year.)

Comparing the two series of conferences, I have seen that the number, intensity and area of occurrence of prejudiced manifestations has considerably increased during the past few years. The fact that two thirds of the participants in the discussions (according to the data of the Mass Communications Research Center, 71.2%) expressed a consistently negative opinion of Gypsies is alarming in itself. However, this fact is made especially alarming by the fact that these were organized discussions, supposedly

attended by an audience that was for some reason interested in the Gypsy question. (Of course, we should keep in mind that this interest may have not been personal, but work-related.)

I was worried by the fact that the most biased opinions, the most passionate manifestations occurred among the young: at teachers' training colleges, schools for future KISZ leaders and technical institutes; in Budapest and in other big cities, among "affected" educators and council workers.

Zsolt Csalog is right when he warns against one of the perils of prejudiced thinking and practice: "However, if the ambition of the individual to become assimilated repeatedly and increasingly clashes against barriers raised by the majority of society, assimilation becomes unfeasible, and ambitions are forcibly directed towards integration, towards the conscience of belonging to the Gypsy community... If...this conscience of identity becomes the basis of nationalistic ideologies, its strengthening should be considered a negative phenomenon. If internal integration of the Gypsies is accomplished at a material and cultural level stabilized below the society's average, it may easily become a trap: an instrument of increased segregation." We have known for long that the prejudice-laden attitude of the "majority society" decelerates the process of adaptation of the Gypsies. However, it is a new danger that the strengthening of this attitude at a certain point may halt or reverse the process already initiated in many places. Thus we may register the sad fact that the majority acting within the restraints of its own prejudices sometimes does not even recognize its own interest. At least, this is the situation regarding long-term interests. In the short run, this statement is not unequivocally true. We have seen it earlier in the case of the home sale: the immediate material interest finally broke the attitude suggested by prejudice.

We have also seen changes in other cases, on a larger scale. According to a survey taken in 1972, the personnel managers of 34 enterprises in the Capital have, expressly or not, refused to employ Gypsies. In 1976 we revisited these enterprises, and we found only four that continued not hiring Gypsy labor. Due to the considerably increased tensions of the labor market, corporate interest prevailed over prejudice.

In both cases, it happened that socio-economical processes of different types (change of the settlement development policies, the introduction of the new economic management system and its effect) created situations in which the immediate self-interest proved stronger than prejudice. However, for me, the most difficult question is still: what is the cause of the increased aversion and hostile attitude of the Hungarian public opinion?

For a long time, we have deluded ourselves by saying that "the legacy of the past" is still alive in people's minds. As I said before: our experience is that the atmosphere of rejection, sometimes hate, is strongest in conferences and seminars organized among the young.

It is not my task to analyze the character, quality, frequency of occurrence, geographical-social distribution of prejudice. Learned specialists working in this field will do that. An exiting study by workers of the Mass Communications Research Center has recently been published on this subject. (Hann-Tonka-Partos: Public Opinion on Gypsies TK 1979). However, based on my own experience, I think that the negative reaction, which has intensified during the past few years, has been basically caused by the positive processes that occurred in the life of the Gypsies. It may seem a paradoxical statement, I don't deny it, but I think the very situation is paradoxical, since I am thinking that the process of eradicating Gypsy settlements has been accelerated, construction of CS homes and favorable purchase of rural homes, as well as the councils' providing apartments to Gypsy families with many children. (Between 1965 and 1975 over 20 thousand families, or about 80 thousand persons were affected.) Simultaneously with this process, the placement of Gypsy males of productive age in regular jobs was completed during the first half of the 1970's (the proportion of the regularly employed is 75%; Istvan Kemeny: Report on the Research Regarding the Situation of Gypsies in Hungary Made in 1971, Budapest, MTA Sociological Research Institute, 1976). Thus, during a period of about ten years, Gypsies appeared in the cities in great numbers (80% of the Gypsy employees work in industry), and became residents of villages formerly not populated by Gypsies.

The Gypsy population formerly living in forests, on the periphery of villages, in some distant and unknown world have in a relatively short time appeared at urban jobs, on vehicles of public transportation, is stores, places of entertainment, and on streets where Gypsies had only been seen sporadically. Opportunities for encounter have increased, and the Gypsy question has come "body close" to tens of thousands of non-Gypsies. Possibilities of conflicts have increased too. Obviously, the Gypsy helper employed for the first time in industry obviously does not have the same values as a worker, nor is he as disciplined as the urban worker of many generations.

The Gypsy family moving into a stone house for the first time in their lives often cannot handle the two rooms, electricity, the garden, the stables, not to mention the elevator, gas, central heating and wall-to-wall carpeting. And it takes time to learn the discipline and the habits of factory production, and to adapt to them.

Hundreds of thousands of people have gone through such changes during the past decades, the painfully difficult process of switching over from the rural, agricultural to the urban, industrial way of life. Gypsies have arrived at industry with the last wave of this process. For them, it has been even more difficult to go through these changes. The question is: is there patience to watch them adapt? It seems there often is not.

Thus, the fundamental changes occurring in the Hungarian Gypsy way of life, parallel the social goals set and mostly initiated under their effect, evoked a negative reaction in a considerable part of the public opinion.

We must pay attention to this contradiction, even if we assume that this is a transitory phenomenon, that such an intensive strengthening of prejudice will abate after some time.

More attention should be paid, among other things, to the way these socio-political measures are made public. I think these measures affecting Gypsies should be discussed more openly, more courageously, setting aside the bashfulness, which is often so damaging to the cause, and which has characterized the handling or not handling of the subject by the mass communications media.

If 68 percent of the young between 18 and 30 years of age is against providing Gypsies with housing at a lower cost than other people (op cit), we can see not only a prejudiced way of thinking in this fact, but also that members of the age group most affected by the difficult housing situation have no idea of the circumstances presently endured by the minority group so favored by the intended government-provided possibilities.

If the reporter of NEPSZABADSAG reports on the demolition of 18 dwellings, part of the public opinion now thinks of 18 Gypsy families. However, if the reporter were less tactful by mentioning that three of the 18 families were Gypsies, and the others non-Gypsies, he would actually provide less food for prejudiced thinking. If another reporter not only regarded the two dozen new family homes built in a town as a magnificent accomplishment of our social policy, but also mentioned the fact that the new residents of these homes had saved for years for the 10% down payment, and that for families with 5, 7 or more children this often meant decent housing for the first time. That they also participated in the construction of these homes--then, maybe, part of the viewers-listeners-readers would not get the impression that the Gypsies received these homes "free," "as a present," and that they were deprived of what has been given to the Gypsies. It is a commonplace experience that it is difficult to reason against prejudice. However, it serves no purpose to keep obscure what can be clarified, since this would only provide arguments or pseudo-arguments to support biased views. Even if we cannot basically change the negative attitude of our public opinion, we could mitigate the intensity of the hostile feelings and the dynamism of its spreading by providing more responsible information.

During private and public discussions I have often felt myself caught in a trap. I can easily come to an agreement with those who are open-minded and unprejudiced regarding the Gypsy question, but closed-minded, biased persons turn a deaf ear to even the most carefully chosen reasoning. I am desperately looking for an answer: where does this hate, this unflexible rejection, this self-assured judgement in people come from? And I am more and more inclined to the opinion that views on Gypsies cannot be regarded in themselves, apart from society's collective thinking. As the Gypsy question cannot be regarded as "just" the Gypsy question, the problem of a single ethnic minority.

It is possible that a certain rigidity, closedness, susceptibility to stereotypes, characteristic of a considerable part of our collective thinking, is only manifested more violently, more timely, and, therefore, more perceptibly in prejudices against Gypsies. If we examined how this public opinion would think of man-woman relationships, of relationships between different generations, of other peoples and nationalities, of colored ethnic groups, Jews, etc., the picture thus obtained wouldn't be very encouraging either, but the problem would not be exposed so dramatically as in connection with the Gypsy problem.

The different ethnocentric ideologies and attitudes have decades and centuries-long tradition in Hungary. Let's not delude ourselves by saying that these traditions have died out during the past 35 years. Although with decreased frequency and intensity, they are alive, active in the subconscience, even if the laws prohibit and customs limit the open manifestation of antisemitic or chauvinistic opinions. And man-woman relationships, frozen in centuries-old patterns, are most often handled as a private matter of the family.

I am often tempted by suspicion: maybe it's all the other unexpressed opinions, restrained passions that are so violently manifested against the Gypsies. Because speaking derogatively of Gypsies is almost becoming fashionable; it is not only tolerated but also rewarded by public opinion.

In my experience, this public opinion is rejecting Gypsies most of all because of their "being different." But it is not only the "being different" of Gypsies that brings out rejection by this public opinion (or its considerable part). We lack the capacity (let me use first person plural here) to accept that some people behave differently, dress differently, have customs and opinions on certain things different from the assumed average.

Back to the Gypsy problem: even the well-intentioned, the ready-to-help ask only about a recipe, want us to provide an ultimate solution valid for all. They listen reluctantly to the statement that there may be more than one way to integrate the 340-360 thousand Gypsies living in the country. Participants of public debates urge government measures, expect formulas and detailed instructions "from above." Very few of them say: let's ask the Gypsies how they perceive it.

I am not blaming the participants of conferences. I am talking about a public, whose members have not been able to learn the democratic practice of problem-solving in other areas either. They have not had the chance to make decisions on important problems affecting them at their jobs or places of residence. This instinctive reflex to await the solution of social problems "from above" in the form of government decisions, solution models institutionalized to uniformity, must have been formed over decades and centuries. Why should we expect a different attitude from this public only when discussing the Gypsy question?

I think that the lack of tolerance and capacity to solve problems democratically can nowhere be detected as flagrantly as during debates on the Gypsy problem. However, these shortcomings have deeper roots, and their negative effect can be sensed not only in connection with the Gypsy problem.

Getting familiar with the opinions manifested in connection with the Gypsy problem can be instructive only if we are interested in them not just to bring about a faster, more successful solution to the Gypsy problem. However, if we restrict the whole question to learning and analyzing the just opinions regarding Gypsies, we will not be able to solve the Gypsy problem.

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ROLE OF MASS INFORMATION MEDIA WEIGHED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Feb 80 p 15

[Article by Iren Nemeti, staff of NOK LAPJA magazine: "Commentary on Janos Pelle's Article"]

[Text] Janos Pelle, in his reflections on mass information, mentions, among other things, that our journalism is mostly calm, passionless. I thought I would improve this situation somewhat, but I won't. I'm afraid he may take offense. However, a raised voice wouldn't be unjustified, first of all, because of his generalizations. In his opinion, the whole of Hungarian political journalism is not worth too much. He also affirms that all magazines are printed according to the same publishing principles, and that they are actually apolitical. He puts the magazines published from time to time into the same basket with Western gossip magazines. I could list more of his self-assured statements, whose heights are not reached by his arguments. I don't wish to meddle into anybody else's business, so I'll only discuss some statements by Janos Pelle regarding the publishing principles of NOK LAPJA.

It's not the first time I hear the wish also formulated by the author: it would be better if our magazines engaged in politics more forcefully. It's not a requirement to be discarded. However, politics is not something for itself, we cannot determine it according to our wishes. It should reflect the social conditions of our times, serve society's real needs. Any attempt not taking into account the real situation, any intention not justified, not accepted by the reader is doomed to failure.

There was a period when we tried to nudge our lives toward faster-than-possible changes justifying it to ourselves with the theory of permanent intensification of the class struggle. We have returned from this road at the cost of grave consequences. Is it possible that some people are headed in the same direction for lack of sufficient experience? I recall the thought of Andras Suto: people cannot be driven into Paradise with a stick.

One of the most harmful forms of petty bourgeois mentality is political impatience, when we take our own wishes for the will of the masses, when

we define what has to be done by the level of society's most conscientious individuals. It is true: we shouldn't accommodate to the most backward ones either.

Regarding our magazine: we try to avoid making concessions to both vulgar simplifications and reactionary nostalgia, which are the cheap methods of reader-catching.

The starting point of our editorial work should be that the time of class conflict in our country is over. There is no intensive political struggle as the expression of antagonistic contradictions. In our country we don't discuss which class should pay the consequences of higher oil prices.

Thus, what remains is "polarized everyday," which can also be perceived, and maybe it should be perceived only this way: our task is to help create a suitable political atmosphere for building socialism, an atmosphere in which people find pleasure in creating and working.

The main purpose of "politically influencing" people, concerning our task, is to have each citizen work honestly, to have him earn a decent living, and to have him feel good.

Of course, this also means that we should render the contradictions between individual, group and social interest realistically, in their full depth and at a high artistic level. It would be a mistake not to pay attention to these contradictions. We have a lot to correct and to catch up with in this area. However, all this does not change the basic fact that "Class relationships in [our] society are characterized by the mutual approximation of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, by the identity of their basic interests and by creative cooperation. We strive to further diminish class differences." (From the guidelines of the 12th Congress of the MSZMP.)

In our country it is very difficult to determine what "apolitical information" is. In my opinion, the opening of a new kindergarten is also political news. Considering their consequences, the increase in the number of divorces and the deterioration of our demographic situation are political problems too. Who would consider the article of a physician apolitical if the number of surgical abortions diminishes due to the information it provides? It depends on the contents of the writing, on the level of journalistic work whether such information is interesting and useful.

The author listed travel reports among apolitical information. I am puzzled by such classification, not only because such reports usually describe the social and living conditions of the country visited.

Millions of people travel abroad from our country each year, from the Canary Islands to Leningrad, from Greece to India. People whose official trip is paid by the state, or those who have money of their own. We can find both the metallurgical worker from Ozd and the rural veterinarian among them.

I have seen a female worker in a stocking factory at the conveyer belt. She could hardly take a breath for eight hours. For the time being, she cannot afford such trips. But it is wrong for her to read about the Acropolis, because it is "apolitical." She may not see, even in pictures, the collection of impressionist paintings of the Pushkin Museum in Moscow. However exhausted she might be, she should only be "entertained" by serious discussions on efficiency. Is information on the impressive creations of human culture "apolitical"? Isn't it rather part of our socialist culture, of the public thinking? I am convinced: the public of bars and underground passages is not recruited from among the admirers of Taj Mahal.

I cannot help remembering an acquaintance of mine from the countryside. For a quarter of a centruy he has not left the state-provided car (by the way, necessary for his work), but he cannot condemn the "petty bourgeois mentality" strongly enough for so many people buying cars...

The author affirms that the publishing principles of all magazines are the same, that they are actually made after the same pattern.

It is not our task to judge in what way we differ from "other traditional picture magazines." However, we can with clear conscience deny that our subject is "apolitical information."

The fact is not what the author thinks, that we "sell" politics with the help of "entertainment and information." We do not wish to disguise our real intentions like cheap politicians. Indirect political agitation serves to bring the subject within human closeness. But we never hide from our readers--this method leaves no doubts regarding the intentions of the journalist--the fact that our magazine serves the building of socialism.

The author assumes that editors have probably no idea of the opinions and needs of the readers. Maybe they have some. The Magazine Publishing Enterprise has made such a survey, but even more significant are the about 10 thousand letters we receive each year, the thousands of our visitors, as well as the dozens of conferences where our people meet the readers. Many of our reports and debates originate at the readers' initiative. We have to gain their interest every week. Because the number of copies sold is a very important, maybe THE main indicator of the influence of a magazine. Even the "political subject," according to the author, remains a private matter if it does not reach those for whom it is destined. (By the way, NOK LAPJA is published in 980 thousand copies rather than 887 thousand.)

A few words about leisure time magazines. Again, I am talking only on behalf of NOK LAPJA: finally, we got some leisure!

One person likes to fish, another enjoys gardening because nature comforts them. Others play sports or hunt during their leisure time, again others listen to music. Some people believe that progress is enjoying the catchy music of Pongrac Kacsoh's JANOS VITEZ now, which will lead to an exclusive

appreciation of Bartok later, at a higher level of development. Also, he will read Ionesco rather than Jokai, and he'll admire Henry Moore's statues rather than Margit Kovacs' creations. A world without such pleasures would not only be irreal, but also very tedious and joyless.

Can we separate the modern, socialist man's way of dressing or the kind of home he lives in from his way of life? We all still remember the time of the lighted sofa. Why should we let the makers of cheap trash take over the noble task of developing and educating the public taste? (Unfortunately, we still have more than necessary makers of trash.) The fact that washers and electric razors became commonplace in rural areas is no small accomplishment either.

An easier, better, healthier life for our people cannot be separated from our socialist goals.

Finally: the author "exempts" me from the responsibility to a certain degree. He says: of course, not only the deficiencies of mass communication media are to be blamed for this apolitical mentality, but also the consolidated political situation in Hungary for the past two decades. To make a comparison: the water level report concerns mainly sailors; the average citizen only pays attention to it in times of flood.

I would happily vote for the preservation of such situation also for the next two decades.

We know that we can escape "flood" only by firmly standing on both our feet, and not by pulling first the left one, and then the right one from the groundwork of realism. And, of course, we must be careful not to keep our heads at ground level either.

9568
CSO: 2500

RAKOWSKI HAILS 'CREATIVE UNREST' SHOWN AT PZPR CONGRESS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 23 Feb 80 pp 1,7

[Article by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee Member and POLITYKA Editor-in-Chief: "Major Themes"]

[Text] It was, beyond any doubt, an interesting and creative Congress. It was a gold-mine of information about the thoughts and feelings of the Party. One could learn a lot at it. The Party program for the coming year presented by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of PZPR, and discussions at the plenary sessions and in 18 committees on special issues deserve special analysis. The resulting conclusions will undoubtedly enrich our everyday experience. Both the analysis and conclusions are an unavoidable necessity. They are dictated by the properly understood national interest and proper Leninesque recognition of the directing role of the communist party in the process of building a socialist society.

It can be said already today that these conclusions will lead to the correction of many methods and means employed by the Party organs and state administrative cells, in everyday political as well as economic activities. We will be returning many times to the rich issues of the Congress, not only because it is a duty of our magazine but also because the delegates expressed their opinions about matters which for a long period of time have been a source of great interest to the media, especially the press. The discussion of issues, without any doubt, contributed substantially to the development of party thinking in the period preceding the Congress. These matters caused, in general, great interest among readers. Today I would like to limit myself to conveying my first impressions.

At the beginning of the 1970s, Edward Gierek, in one of his speeches, called on his compatriots to adopt an attitude of creative unrest. This appeal expressed the attitude of our leader that a successful development of the country, multiplication of material and spiritual values, may take place only when even for a moment, we will not allow ourselves to succumb to an indolent feeling of self-satisfaction and self-congratulation. This refers, above all, to the directing cadres at all levels because on their attitudes depend the political climate of the country, and the successful fulfillment of the socio-economic plans of Poland's development.

In past years this mood of creative unrest has not always and everywhere been fully triumphant. It is normal; undoubtedly, the successes of the first half of the 1970's gave food to the widespread attitude of self-satisfaction. And of faith in the unlimited possibilities of modern technology. In the Congress Hall, where the 7th Congress of PZPR held its deliberations, the spirit of creative unrest was not only demonstrated but also in a decisive fashion determined what we call the atmosphere of the Congress. Without playing down the great achievement of the 1970's, a majority of discussants indicated, to the point and with a full feeling of responsibility, the weaknesses appearing in our everyday work, of which a major one is the direction of complex economic and social organisms. It was not covered up that the tensions existing in the economy make working people's everyday lives difficult and weaken the productive and social involvement of many of them. It is sure that the 7th Congress was not a meeting of self-satisfied party members. This attitude is one of the guarantees of the successful and accelerated elimination of the difficulties that plague us so much; if not of all of them and everywhere, then at least of those which are not caused by objective reasons, really independent of our will, weakness, etc.

Although on the discussion a lot of various matters were taken up, without any effort one can focus on four major themes, which are: effectiveness of the economy, the socialist style of life, the deepening of socialist democracy, and the Polish commitment to peace and the policy of detente.

An attempt to reach not so much an improvement in the area of the effectiveness of the economy but rather a decisive breakthrough, is not a new subject. This was a major issue in the discussion of the guidelines. It was not, therefore, a surprise to anyone that this topic also dominated the other ones at the Congress. In spite of this, it still deserves attention. It is first of all because the delegates taking part in the discussions treated the major problem of our economy as a whole. These were not complaints about limited shortcomings or imperfections, that here it is bad with supplies, and in another place work organization has "gone to the dogs," and in still another there is a striking wastefulness of raw materials. Even if such examples were given, in general they were set against a more general background. The more general background refers mainly to the methods of administration and planning in the national economy. The methods used today, as was said clearly at the Congress, have for many reasons ceased to be effective and socially useful. The voices of the delegates on these matters were not obviously directed against the idea of strong central authority. They expressed only the will of possibly the fullest use of powerful productive forces, which we built with a tremendous outlay of effort and means in the 1970's.

Listing to the speeches of the delegates, sensing the mood of the Hall, its live responses, it was not difficult to perceive that the Party has won a wonderful active cadre, well prepared to face all the problems which we will have to deal with in the coming years. The leadership of the party can de definitely depend on the full support of the party members as well as on

millions of non-party working people, in all the activities that will be propitious to furnishing our house in a way that we can love in it comfortably, so that we will not be disturbed by anything and our life, given us only once, should not be made difficult.

A specially positive phenomenon of great importance not only for the present moment but also for the future was a justified worry expressed also by many delegates that socialism in no case should create favorable conditions for those who "do not sow, do not plough" but reap rich harvests. The Congress responded strongly to voices branding excessive gains thanks to one's high office and to all other manifestations of social injustice. These vivid responses had nothing to do with primitively understood equality, nor with a wish of "chasing" those who because of dedicated work reach the peaks of the salary scales. The intention is that the everyday practice be not in opposition to the social perception and feeling of justice.

It was the unquestionable success of the 7th Congress that this problem was at the center of the delegates' attention.

The next topic of the Congress: the deepening of socialist democracy, was connected not only with establishing a proper relationship between the central and provincial organs, determining limits of independence for the companies, but also with self-government of the working class and its organizations: trade unions and the conferences of workers' self-government. It was not suggested that new institutions be established but that we create the conditions, we emphasize the last word, making possible the full use of the laws which the above-mentioned institutions, as well as national councils, were granted by the lawmaker.

And finally the fourth topic: Polish commitment to peace and the policy of detente. The proposal of Edward Gierek to make Warsaw the place of the disarmament conference which is being called for by the socialist countries was greeted with long applause. The program statement of the Politburo was a splendid, rich account of Polish foreign policy, of the attitude of Poland in all matters concerni the maintaining and strengthening of world peace. Adherence to principles and so desired in flexible foreign policy--that is the structure on which the Polish point of view on the present international situation has been based.

A direct result of the Congress was the session of the Sejm, called immediately after its conclusion, and the change in the position of the government leader.

Edward Babiuch, the fifth Prime Minister of the Polish People's Republic, presented the difficulties facing the government. It may seem like a paradox but for me it is encouraging when the leader of the executive branch, in analyzing the situation, talks mainly about difficulties. When society is aware that its leaders are fully aware of the reality of the situation and present it without embellishment, it gives grounds for optimism. The Prime Minister clearly and in concrete terms presented what

the government is going to arrange, improve, change, and it was a review of the postulates we had all presented in the pre- and Congress discussions--without exaggeration, a catalogue of the society's desires and the sum of the desiderata that were growing and growing. The government, in the words of its leader, declared a wish and willingness to continue listening to proposals for changes, reforms and improvements. "We are ready in the activity of government to welcome each constructive piece of criticism..."--said Edward Babiuch. The contents of the Prime Minister's inaugural speech and first government nominations incline us to open a new credit of trust to the state executive authority. It is very necessary to continually strengthen the trust of society in the authorities, and, not less important, of the authorities in the society.

A sentence we heard from the Sejm dais appeals to me a lot: "In our country, it is easier to discuss what others should do, but more difficult and rare to discuss our own duties and own work." Giving an outline of this "our own work" Babiuch announced a fight against the food lines, against unjust salaries or privileges and above all he described planned economic changes which embrace, for example, decentralization and in increase of the autonomy of ministers.

A few days after the conclusion of Congress, at one of the public meetings, I was asked how I evaluate the 7th Congress. I answered in the following way: It was a Congress of the delegates of a 3 million people party. It was a critical Congress, self-critical, with postulates. Its members, fully convinved of the fairness of the post-December party policy, gave full trust to the leadership of the party, and clearly showed their deep trust that we are capable of making such changes in directing the complex social and economic processes that will favor the blossoming of our homeland. This blossoming can be achieved not only by machines, factories, bridges and roads, houses and streets. The homeland consists also of our hearts and feelings.

9272
CSO: 2600

JOURNAL DESCRIBES WHAT IT EXPECTS FROM NEW PREMIER

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 9, 1 Mar 80 pp 1,4

[Article by Andrzej Krzysztof Wroblewski]

[Text] In his first address to the Diet the new premier, speaking of the planned course of action of the government, announced the consistent continuation of the strategy which, with good effect, is not without difficulty, we have carried out from the beginning of the 1970's.

The intent to continue does not weaken the interest of our public opinion in the figure of the new premier; looking at his age, his background, his store of knowledge and the nature of his experiences we may wonder about the style his leadership of the government will take on. Edward Babiuch is, for the head of the government, a young man whose political formation took place after the Second World War. He is above all a sort of political activist. In the course of his longstanding efforts in the youth and party apparatus, before 1970 in the organizational department, and later in the Central Committee secretariat, he had the opportunity to become well-acquainted with all aspects of our political machinery and he certainly had the opportunity to come into personal contact with a majority of the people who make up our so-called work force. Perhaps it is from this experience that he drew the phrase: "It is the duty of the government to give proper direction to collective efforts...," and, as observers, we anticipate that in the work of the government there will be more of such direction and fewer recommendations and orders.

The most important and most burdensome experience of the new premier for the work of the government is, however, that which is an experience we all have in common: the evaluation of recent years. We give the great achievements their due, but confront the unmistakable lapses face to face. Could we have anticipated, or even forestalled them? There is no use giving ourselves over to "ifonlyism." If it were only possible to turn back the clock, perhaps we would spend less time searching for medications to bring immediate, if shortlived, relief.

Our experiences are always the primary date for the future, and it is no different with the experiences of the past five years. From some we have

learned the necessity of continuing our efforts (e.g., accelerated improvements in energy and transport, which was begun about a year ago), from others result various corrections (e.g., changing the proportion of quickly returned investments, which had absolute priority, and those intended for the distant future, which also cannot be ignored), and because of others we have a more radical reorientation (e.g., being more realistic about tasks which were often out of proportion to the means. Take note of the sentence about this very subject, one of the most characteristic utterances, taken from the remarks of Edward Babiuch during the Diet and placed under his photograph on the first page of the previous issue of POLITYKA.

If we were to measure with a ruler and a compass how much space the premier devoted to various issues in his inaugural address, we would come to the conclusion that he attaches relatively large importance to questions of morality, honesty and reliability. I believe that in this way he expresses the longing that many of us have for the vigilant observation of the developmental process, in which we must take into consideration individual incentives and allow for farreaching differentiation. But it is not only a question of fulfilling unwritten commands of socialist coexistence. We must also prevent a psychological chain reaction. Fundamentally honest people, when they hear about one or another case of someone pursuing his own private interest, of the taking of bribes, of cronyism and the like, suddenly begin to suspect that everybody has become occupied with taking care of themselves, and only they are left trying their best not to be bitter. While it is true that no words or repressive measures will wipe out these phenomena completely, they can and should limit them significantly.

Now it is appropriate to devote a few words to a topic which is apparently far removed from moralizing, namely, management efficiency. If we are accustomed to believe that this question is from another sphere entirely, that is the best proof of the need for major changes. We have been preaching improvements in efficiency for many years, but the improvements are still not satisfactory. Is it possible to hope that we have overlooked some hidden indicator, some secret lever which, when moved will change our situation radically? Personally, I do not believe so, and I turn my hopes for improvement in the direction of politics rather than econometrics. There is no other way to surmount obstacles than by hard work, both with machines and on construction, in management and on the planning staff. At all stages of our multilevel economic hierarchy there are people, with the end result contingent upon their desires, skill and involvement.

Perhaps in this light we ought to admit that we must revise our former beliefs to some extent. We have convinced ourselves that the economy is a vast, complex but heartless machine. We have too often bypassed the significance for its operation of factors which act as "lubricants": the climate, desires, reliability. Our great potential, of which we rightly boast, is in need of this lubricant.

Thus the challenge to raise the standard of morality is at the same time the path to great efficiency. Perhaps, to differentiate it from our earlier

concepts, we should call it "political management efficiency." The new premier expressed the conviction--in my opinion an accurate one--that a healthier climate in our social life will do more to increase efficiency than administrative measures.

We do not comprehend this "healthier climate" entirely, not even, above all, as a regime of stiffer fines. We have never looked down this path, which sometimes earns shortlived applause and steady long-range benefits for democracy and socialism. It is rather a question of the further putting into effect of principles of social control. If it were more clearly known then up to the present time, where and in what manner decisions are made about the allocation of cars and telephones, vacations and housing, overvalued goods and dollars for foreign trips. If the concepts "cooperative," "autonomy," "council" were still closer to their official signs. The revitalization of still existing but sometimes sluggish bodies of social control would not only improve the climate, but would also free active people who are disinclined to empty prattle but are expressive of authentic social values.

Labor autonomy in particular, to which so much space has been devoted of late not by accident, can and ought to undergo a rejuvenation and revitalization treatment. Since we know, however, that verbal entreaties do not have the power to motivate, let us rather pause and look for an answer in the intentions of the government as expressed by the premier to the questions: What conditions must be fulfilled in order for labor autonomy to function effectively, enabling the improved execution of tasks and giving personnel a greater desire to be a part of the national effort? Could certain decisions which are now made in the quiet of directorial offices be made in meeting halls? Under stable conditions of supply and contracts this will make things easier at least to a modest extent. A planned economy cannot allow for competitive struggles among departments, trades and factories, which are the property of one owner, our state.

In our premier's speech were echoed various voices which had criticized this state of things sharply in the pre-Convention and Convention discussions. Perhaps certain errors committed in this realm were inevitable. We entered the first years of our dynamic development with its exciting successes under the chilling nightmare of world recession and we did not manage to keep pace with the new rhythm at first. As the indicators pushed upward, the power and means to maintain the growth rate unchanged at its high level were temporarily lacking. Adherents of zero growth in the West, long taken for gentle idiots, are now being spoken of more and more as clairvoyant realists. And it may be heard in our camp that we should above all maintain the level we have achieved, realistically weighing our aims according to our strength (e.g., comrade Kadar in his noted address of last fall). It appears that measured growth in Poland as well will enable us to put the front in order, to liquidate disproportions, eliminate many apparently trifling but vexing circumstances of daily life and prepare for successive increases in tempo, if the conditions are favorable.

In his Diet address, the premier devoted much attention to organizational issues, his domain for many years of work in the party apparatus. In this light he announced the improvement of a system of planning and management of the economy, but he did not stop at this declaration; this goal is to be achieved in part through the setting in order of the division of powers among central and branch offices, both vertically (the capital--voivodships--rural communes; ministries--unions--companies) and horizontally, i.e., through the setting in order of the various powers of central authorities. Essentially, we have recently been under the impression that the division into 49 voivodships and several dozen ministries is stronger than the sense of state community, that we are excessively directed by atomized tasks, and too little by the good of the whole correctly understood. This has doubtless had its effect on the system of evaluating a work crew as well; when it completed its appointed tasks it was praised, even if this was at someone else's expense.

Such high level organization is nothing more than politics. Premier Babiuch has undoubtedly come to terms with the issue that the apparent squaring of the circle--namely the fortification of the state operation and the simultaneous decision to decentralize--is impossible to achieve without calling to mind certain political formulas. Thus after announcing the strengthening of the role of central planning and the requirements for its realization, in his Diet address he uttered the words which meet with universal approval:

In our socialist state (the authority of the administration) is growing not out of the arbitrary settlement of matters, but because of the effective and correct functioning in close contact with the society... We see the need for strengthening the position and the sense of responsibility of various ministries for the sphere of matters entrusted to them through the simultaneous policy. We plan to broaden both the powers and the responsibilities of cities and rural communes. We can properly develop the various branches of the economy and social life, as well as the regions of the country only through the attitude of a communal sense of responsibility for the whole makeup of national policy.

These words do not only bring us satisfaction because we have always recognized the fact that as soon as quantity becomes quality, the quality of our economic potential, and above all of our human potential demands broadening decentralization, the skillful matching up of our professional expertise with decisions enacted at the lowest possible level. The consistent inculcation of decentralization inevitably leads to the broadening of the socialist democracy. The cohesiveness of the state, based on the mutual connection of organizations, makes gains in terms of better ties, because they are political. Ruling by decree yields to ruling by the common acceptance of joint interests.

It is understood that under conditions of tension and limitations we cannot permit the doors to all sorts of lawlessness, which as a rule, carry financial consequences, to be open. The fact of the matter is, however, that radical opposition to such a method, namely leaving all the decisions to be made at the central level, leads to reduced efficiency and extends the period of

tensions into infinity. If the government under its new direction achieves what it has set out to achieve, namely a balance of proposals and means, conditions will arise enabling bolder political decisions, decentralization and the democratization of the governing process. This is not an easy course and undoubtedly more than one discouraging incident will occur. Its value, however, rests on the fact that it is the only course possible.

8536
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CATHOLIC CHURCH RESTATES DEMAND FOR MORE RIGHTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Mar 80 p 4

[Article by ba: "Bishops Lay Emphasis on Difficult Situation in Society"]

[Text] Warsaw, 2 March--Predictably, the Polish Episcopate has chosen Cardinal Macharski as its deputy chairman; following the elevation of former Krakow Metropolitan Wojtyla to the papacy in the fall of 1978 the office was to all practical purposes vacant and remained unfilled. In answer to a passage in the proclamation of the parties of the Front of National Unity, calling for cooperation of Church and state in many important questions, the weekend communique of the last plenary meeting of the bishops touches on many points reiterating the readiness of the Church for cooperation but with the understanding that the Church must be granted the necessary conditions for such activity for the common good which at present are largely lacking.

The difficult social situation and low morality in the country, says the communique, continue to be the object of the Church's care and concern and "the responsibility as a spiritual shepherd also in matters affecting the entire country." A conscious joint effort by all sons and daughters of the Church and all other citizens is needed to overcome these difficulties. On this point the bishops quote from the Church constitution of the Second Vatican Council that the Church does not identify with the political community nor does it join any political system, the Church and the political community are independent of each other and autonomous, but serve the individual and social needs of the same people on different legal grounds, providing this service for the common welfare the more effectively the better mutual cooperation can be arranged.

But then, referring again to the Second Vatican Council, the communique admonishes that freedom of worship is a basic principle in relations between Church and state.

"That means that the Church must among other rights enjoy true freedom in preaching the Gospel and in the propagation of the principles of moral and social behavior, in unobstructed fulfillment of its mission among the people and also in passing ethical judgment on political matters when human rights and spiritual welfare demand it."

The Church, the bishops declare, will not cease trying to raise morality in society and instill civic virtues in the people. But to that end the Church needs the "indispensable freedom of action," mainly permission to create free associations and institutions serving cultural, religious, and educational purposes. It needs real opportunity for caring for the sick, the old and the indigent. After the war the Church was deprived of its "broad freedom of action in the area of social care and services"; public welfare demands that these rights be restored to the Church. This is in direct reference to Caritas, which was wrested away from the Church.

To fulfill its commitment to public welfare the Church needs greater freedom to publish periodicals and influence young students and workers, mainly those who live away from their parents, by granting priests access to boarding schools, dormitories and worker housing. The bishops disapprove of and call "worthless" the pressure to which young people are exposed to in order to join certain political organizations where they are forced to embrace a philosophy which conflicts directly with the Christian beliefs of the vast majority of Polish families. It only leads to hypocrisy and opportunism deforming young characters.

"The prerequisite necessary for the reestablishment of social and moral virtues in our country," the bishops declare, "is the restoration of truth and freedom in the life of society. But the truth is revealed only in a dialog. And a dialog between society and the power structure is indispensable." Restoration of truthfulness in the life of society is not only the business of mass communications media and political institutions but of every Christian and Pole. Speaking and defending the truth in personal, familial and social life is everybody's obligation which frequently calls for civic courage. Without such a commitment public confidence cannot be restored.

The whole nation, all Poles, must work for the restoration of moral values but for this they must have the right and permission to act through their own associatons.

"In such associations free discussion and free speech," in open criticism of prevailing conditions, "can establish a consensus in support of solving the difficult tasks which face the nation." This represents methodological advice to the party's unceasing calls for national unity in the pursuit of patriotic duty. And so, the bishops continue to reason, broader scope must be given to existing social organzations including permission to found new autonomous ones with the right to launch initiatives aiming at the renewal of the life of society.

"Nobody must become victim of repression or be threatened by it because of difference of belief or for launching socially useful initiatives."

8664
CSO: 2300

URBAN ANTI-PEASANT BIAS, IGNORANCE, EGOISM CONDEMNED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 5, 2 Feb 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by Dyzma Galaj, director of the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of the Development of Rural Areas and Agriculture, member of the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee: "To Evaluate Justly"]

[Text] We live with an awareness that for many years the world has been working in a dichotomous division, country and city, the country being foodstuffs and the attractions of nature and the city being the center of all production, other than foodstuffs, needed for human life, a center of culture and learning and, above all, a center of political and state power.

Everything that has significance for the nation is decided in the city. The city causes revolutions, creates new organizational structures in public life, and defines the directions and pace of development. Municipal and social institutions are concentrated in the city; there is room for high productivity in the city and the growth of production is practically limitless, which allows working families to make higher average incomes than in the country, since agricultural productivity is usually lower. This results not only from a poorer technology in farm implements and lower qualifications, but also from limitations imposed by the laws of nature. Many millions more watches can be produced the following year, whereas there can be a few more cows, some more milk, meat, bread and fruits, but usually just a fraction of a percent more than the previous year. Except that in any period of history a person could live without a watch, but he could not live without food. And, consequently, the relationship between country and city is not just a quantitative one.

The growth of the PRL (Polish People's Republic) is, above all, a dynamic development of industry and cities. This growth has become the basis of changes in agriculture and in country society. More than 5 million people have left the country and, in addition, more than 2 million people from farming families commute each day to work outside of agriculture. Class relations in the country have changed because of this. There is no steady hired help, economic and socio-cultural contacts with the city have developed in every respect, agricultural production has risen significantly, as has the rural population's educational standard, and social and cultural

conditions in life as well as working conditions have improved. The possibility of gaining work outside of agriculture has fundamentally changed the attitude of the agricultural population toward the land, environment, and life. This possibility has caused such large and widespread changes in the country that we may express the opinion that the country has benefitted the most during this time. There is no doubt that the principle of equal living and working conditions for city and country people has been fulfilled. There are still, however, so many differences--in productivity, in equipment for farms and homes, in incomes, in the average education, in social conditions, in access to institutions of education and culture, in the supply of the means of consumption, in dependence on climatic conditions and the like--that young farmers pretty willingly take advantage of opportunities to work outside of farming and do not regret leaving their father's farm or village. This even pertains to young people from wealthy farms which are abundant in means of production, civilized furnishings, and high incomes. Is thoughtlessness causing this "mad rush" to the city or are more sensible forces working in this matter? There are such sensible forces. It was precisely these forces that caused a remarkable older farmer to confess, neither happily nor bitterly, that life is 400 percent better for him than before the war, yet it is worse...the "better" expresses itself in his family's incomparably higher standard of living, the "worse" in the incessant, relentless rigor of farmwork, which sometimes lasts 18 hours a day and includes holidays and Sundays in the work week, while in the city the workday is normalized and is evolving toward a 5-day work week and workers take advantage of vacations and the like.

All of this is happening concurrently with the establishment of the concept of egalitarianism of living conditions for all working people. Also contained in this concept is the aim of equalizing living and working conditions for the agricultural and especially the village population, in comparison with the average living and working conditions of city people. Meanwhile, we find out from an article by Jan Bijak ("The City About the Country," POLITYKA No 38, 1979) and from similar information streaming in from other sources, that the interest of city people in agricultural or country matters is relatively small, though differentiated, in these social groups of people; knowledge is not great and rather erroneous and public feeling is most widely anti-peasant. The opinion predominates--to simplify somewhat the report contained in J. Bijak's article--that people in the country live better than those in the city, that country people are rich, that they are pushing their way to cities by various means including through institutions of higher learning, and that they ought to be kept in agriculture in order to increase production of food for the benefit of the entire society. There is, consequently, an open divergence between the actual state of affairs and the notions held by city people about the country and agriculture. Why?

Why would even those who have numerous contacts with the country and have just moved to the city be happy if the exodus from agriculture were frozen, as long as the country gave greater production and the peasants were less prosperous?

Food difficulties on the marketplace, housing problems in the city with the constant flow of the farming population to cities, the taking over of various, frequently responsible jobs by young peasants who, furthermore, are sometimes helped materially by their family in the village--all this gives rise to the view that peasants are prospering, that they are poor workers and that they threaten the city by laying claim to its advantages. To some degree the propaganda contents of newspaper, radio and television activities, whose essence is to show high productive and sociocultural accomplishments in the village, has promoted this opinion. In this setting anti-peasant feelings develop, at the same time--as J. Bijak showed--encompassing wide groups of city dwellers, intensifying in larger cities and in lower-educated groups, as well as in circles of people not having contacts with the village.

Of course, such feelings are relatively weak and at the same time have such different intensities that the word "anti-peasant" ought to be taken in quotation marks. Not infrequently these are seemingly pro-peasant feelings, but in essence they are anti-peasant because they intend to freeze the transformation of the peasant classes in their present backward condition. Roughly speaking, one can mention four basic viewpoints that the city population takes toward the country and agriculture.

First, the country produces little food despite a lot of help from the state. Country dwellers are wealthy. They buy up attractive industrial articles and meat in the city, they push unceremoniously into schools, including institutions of higher learning, they occupy positions in the city, buy up apartments, and have a primitive influence on the culture. The same is said about peasant-workers. For advocates of such an opinion it would probably suffice if there were meat in the stores, fewer cars, faucets and machines in the country, and less of a rush to cities and education. There can be peasants, but not in the city--this is almost the same attitude as during the days of the domination of the lower middle class and intelligentsia measures of status-class worth. This is an egoistic attitude consistent with the maxim, "My shirt is close to me but my skin is still closer."

The second viewpoint represents a view approaching the opinion of the first group. Its advocates say that villagers are indolent in respect to production since they are afraid of producer cooperatives; they are not sure of their individual fate and, consequently, they take advantage only of current opportunities for their own self-interest. It is therefore necessary to assure them that the individual ownership of land and means of production is uninfringeable.

The third viewpoint bases itself on an opposite assertion--they believe that all evil comes from the fact that private farms are not collectivized, since only a concentration of land and agricultural production is in a position to satisfy the foodstuff needs of the nation and put an end to peasant backwardness. Advocates of the second and third groups, critically evaluating peasants, point out different solutions and different perspectives.

The fourth viewpoint is the viewpoint of people who treat peasants and their farms as the only proper form of farming and life, a form which, in the current situation of the PRL, is in a position to mitigate or even resolve the food difficulties, and not only the food difficulties, of our country. What is more, this is a form--in the opinion of the representatives of this standpoint--which in a non-capitalist environment can be a lasting category of socialism. They argue that private farming gives the cheapest production and, moreover, the life and work of peasant families in peculiar natural conditions and in unique association with space create in agricultural society unique moral and social values which are highly desirable but not gotten in society. An active economic and socio-cultural policy toward peasants is proposed, leading to a strengthening of their peasant form of work and life. The maximum ought to be given to peasants, so that they would want to be peasants, and so that they would have the possibility of increasing production, incomes, and productivity, and so that they could thus successfully lessen the differences of living and working conditions between city and country people.

The four mentioned orientations are anti-peasant, though on the surface it seems that the second and fourth viewpoints have a pro-peasant character. At the heart of these viewpoints lies group egoism, because with what can one explain a standpoint postulating the strengthening of the peasant stratum in its present setting, that is, with such characteristics as low productivity, lower average incomes than in the city, and, above all, constant work--from dawn to dusk every week day and on Sundays and holidays, with no time for sickness, vacation or excursions, without a maximum retirement age, and without certainty about the outcome of work, etc. And this, when in all the developed countries of the world the workday is growing shorter and the working person is gaining ever new social privileges! One gets the thought that the slogans of the intellectuals and idealizers of the peasants in defense of village living are intended to lead to the petrification of the social group with the most difficult living and working conditions and to the maintenance within socialist society of "Negroes," although the kind of "Negroes" about whom it is said that they are valuable and must be respected. They do not notice the fact that the plentiful outflow of youth from private farms, and not just from poor, small farms, but also from rich, highly productive ones as well, is an expression of flight not from indigence nor economical hopelessness--as in the case of the small farms--but from a style of work, from the rigorous needs of a highly productive farm, from family slavery lasting for entire generations in a turnstile of necessary and never-ending activity on one's own farm, from the inevitability of rapid aging, from the necessity of practicing 100 occupations on a farm, and the like. What does this mean? It means that the developmental process of the village is heading toward a state where there will be no one to be a peasant. It is a slow process, limited by tradition, customs, and the inertia of young people, and by a lack of jobs in the village outside of agriculture; but the process goes on and is irreversible and unavoidable.

The slogan of the endurance of the peasant farm and the family working on it is certainly willingly entertained by a generation of older farmers and one should not be surprised at this, but good will for this slogan is growing smaller in opposite proportion to the age of members of the village community and to the degree to which the urbanization of the village has progressed. The younger the people, the greater the influence of the city on a given village and the more willingly youth leave their fathers' farms because the model of life and work of private agriculture falls decidedly short of other models--even if these were farms with high technology and production and high incomes.

Consequently, the previously-mentioned pro-peasant attitude does not find a following with those who would have to carry out this attitude in a village of the future. It is, therefore, unrealizable and not humanitarian because of the opposing views of young people--of course, today just a portion of the young people, tomorrow a greater portion and the day after practically everybody--all young people, all probable candidates for the position of private farmer, but not old farmers, not peasants who for decades have worked on their own farm without any chance of leaving it. They ought to work in peace and benefit from state aid and societal respect, but let there be no argument that their work and life can be a source of multi-faceted values for everybody.

Those anti- and pro-peasant feelings equally lead to the maintenance of an oasis of tradition of small producers' thrift and toil amidst conditions of high social division of labor, high efficiency, and cultural needs conditioned by the privilege of increasing free time from work.

Looking slightly different, but only in appearance, is the question of promotin rapid collectivization of private farms, because this is a dogmatic tendency to commandeer peasants without considering objective circumstances and to force them, against their needs and will, into an unacceptable form of work and life. This is anti-peasant and inhumane, because it presupposes doing violence to personal aspirations.

The sources of those viewpoints appearing in studies conducted by POLITYKA and showing up quite commonly in lines to stores and ticket booths, in workshops, on the periphery of schools and institutions of higher learning, on trams and buses, and in thousands of other places surely have their roots in the past and present. From the past have originated both the ancient nobility's and then later the lower middle-class' abomination and contempt for these masses which were called peasantry, boors, and riff-raff, although this is considerably toned down today. This viewpoint also originated from intellectual protectionism and patronage, social-democratic mistakes questioning the political worth of the slogan of the farmer-worker alliance, and agrarian euphoria on the subject of the peasant stratum's messianic function. On the other hand, the present, thanks in part to the distorted picture of the village and agriculture presented by the press, radio and especially through television and school textbooks, has evoked a feeling among city

dwellers, against the intentions of the nation's leadership, that everyone in the village is prospering, that there are no difficulties with supplies, that there are machines and modern homes, and that village youth, by government decision, get extra points in attacking institutions of higher learning, so that after finishing studies they can attack positions, apartments, places in day-care centers, places on vacations, places in medical clinics, and the like, pushing out the native inhabitants of Lowicz, Kalisz, Krakow and Warsaw... Those native city dwellers do not know how much hardship there still is in the village, how hard farm work is, and how much the fate of the city dweller depends on the farmer's work and vice versa.

This anti-peasant feeling in the city ought to be resisted in the interest of the entire urban and rural society. It is enough to tell the truth about the village and farming. It is significant that among the people studied by POLITYKA who came from the village and still maintain contacts with families, among people with a higher education or those practicing a profession related to agriculture, knowledge of the village is clearly greater and anti-peasant feeling considerably lower, though it still appears. An honest knowledge of this phenomenon is indispensable in forming rational and just opinions.

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COMMENT ON STRATEGY OF WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 4, Oct-Dec 79 pp 782-788

/Article by Sandu Vlad of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy/

/Text/ In man's evolution toward higher forms of organization, the establishment of the socialist system through the struggle of each country's revolutionary forces is an historic need of social development, being determined by the action of the objective laws of society. The experience gained strikingly proves, however, that the rates, means and ways of carrying out the revolutionary changes are seeing increasingly greater diversification and will continue to see it in the future, too. This is because the modern revolutionary process which has new qualitative features compared with previous stages with regard to the area it comprises, the social and political participating forces as well as the ideas and concepts it promotes takes place specifically within a national framework characterized by the social-economic, political conditions and specific historical traditions and particular features, a fact which causes a great diversity of the tasks and goals facing the progressive and anti-imperialist forces from one stage to another and from one country to another.

In this context, the working class and workers in the developed capitalist countries of western Europe, an integral part of the current world revolutionary process through the scope, complexity and dimensions of the struggle they are conducting against exploitation and oppression and for democratic rights and freedoms, for implementation of structural, economic, social and political changes as well as for placing the relations between nations on new bases, can make a substantial contribution to the general effort of the innovations and changes which the current stage of man's development is seeing. Within the overall political forces of diverse orientations which act in the direction of discovering the solutions intended to assure the achivement of progress in all areas of social life, the communist and worker parties, the most advanced political forces in the developed capitalist countries, have intensified their concern with defining the ways and means for the transition from capitalism to socialism and the ways to carry out the socialist revolution, making their own theoretical efforts with a view to defining the stages through which they will reach socialism and defining the features of the new system.

The Romanian Communist Party, which is militating steadfastly in the direction of the development of collaboration and solidarity with all communist and worker, socialist and social democratic parties and with all progressive and democratic forces of the modern day, views with sympathy and interest the current concerns with solving the complex problems raised by the evolution of modern capitalism and feels that the theoretical experience and practical activity gained by the political forces in theother countries represent their specific contribution to enriching scientific socialism and revolutionary theory and practice, thus confirming the creative nature of the revolutionary theory of the working class. "The basic problem under the conditions of the modern era, characterized by the dizzy development of production forces, by the broadest scientific-technical revolution and by a giant upsurge of human knowledge," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "is the continual enrichment of scientific socialism and the increase in each party's contribution to the development of our revolutionary theory in accordance with the demands of development of human society and social practice. Only in this way can the communist parties and the revolutionary movement be able to develop even more powerfully and be able to fulfill their historic mission of the revolutionary transformation of the world and assurance of peace."[1]

Refuting the theories of the depolitization and de-ideologization which maintained the lessening significance of parties in modern capitalist society, under the impetus of many factors, primarily technocratism, the current stage is bringing significant proof of the growth in the influence, force and role of the working class' political parties. In recent years, the social-political picture of the western European capitalist countries has brought out that a number of communist and worker parties have strengthened their positions and are playing a greater role and are exercising a powerful influence both nationally and internationally. Carrying out their activity in countries which have a high level of development of the production forces, a large working class with rich revolutionary traditions, the communist parties in some countries are asserting themselves as powerful national political forces and are enjoying the masses' growing following and aid. From the viewpoint of numbers, some have recorded significant evolution, becoming mass parties.* Reflecting the increasingly clear desire formed by a large portion of the population for change and innovation, the parliamentary voting of recent years, despite the sometimes fluctuating results obtained by various parties, has reconfirmed the role they play in national political life and has made it possible for the communist parties in Finland, France, Italy, Ireland, Portugal and Spain to hold a large number of deputies in the national parliaments and to participate in the leadership of regional and local administrative aditivity. The results obtained in election campaigns demand much attention since the communist parties in a number of countries have hadto cope with the offensive of extreme right forces, the noxious action of terrorist groups, some external anticommunist pressures as well as other difficulties intended to hinder the advance of the workers and popular movement.

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* Currently the following is the number of communist and worker parties in western Europe: Finland--50,000; France--702,000; Italy--1,790,450; Portugal--150,000; Spain--250,000.

The growth in the role of the communist parties in some western countries and the affirmation of their vocation and availability to participate in government activity for the purpose of solving the problems confronting the particular countries and the result of a series of factors interacting. Without making an exhaustive list, it should be mentioned that an important role belongs to the fact that some communist parties are linking the activity of social and national realities in their own country more and more closely and organically and expressing more and more deeply the interests and desires of the working class and their own people and are proposing realistic solutions with a view to the development of democracy and progress, assuring the economic stability of their countries and increasing their role in international policy. At the same time, they are asserting themselves as active forces in the struggle to fulfill the aspirations of modern man for independence, progress and peace, coming out for establishing new relations of equality, respect and mutual faith among the world's states. At the same time, the communist parties in some of the developed capitalist countries are making a remarkable contribution to developing the experience of revolutionary thought and practice by creatively seeking new paths and original solutions for the problems of the democratic transformation of the western European societies and they are militating to strengthen the solidarity and cooperation between the communist and worker parties and to carry out a new unit in the communist movement based on equal rights and noninterference in internal affairs and on strict respect for each party's right to establish its own independent political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics according to the specific historical conditions under which it takes action.

The orientation of some of the communist parties toward working out an independent policy in close agreement with the historical realities in the particular countries and for a strategy intended to assure that the current crisis of the capitalist system is overcome and society is democratically transformed have led to implanting them in the life of nations and to drawing up draft policies for the change of the bourgeois system by revolutionary means, which meet the consensus of broad sectors of the popular masses.

The theoretical reflection and political positions, particular features and similar strategies of some of the communist parties regarding the paths for the move toward socialism in the developed capitalist countries have received the improper name of eurocommunism and have become the object of lively interest both within the revolutionary worker movement as well as in the framework of bourgeois circles. The parties thus named themselves feel this particular neologism is contradictory and imprecise, particularly in its linguistic, historical and theoretical aspects.

From the linguistic viewpoint, the term covers the western European communist parties as a whole but, as we know, some reject this and, on the other hand, it does not include the parties which are carrying out their activity in the developed capitalist countries on other continents as well as the fact that similar positions on the problem of the paths and methods for carrying out the socialist revolution also have been worked out--independently, of course--by communist parties in the developing countries.

From the historical viewpoint, the western European communists' efforts to work out a political line which corresponds to theparticular features and social conditions of their countries are placed in their distant past. For example, we know that the program of the British Communist Party, now in its fourth version, adopted at the congress of 1977, dates from 1951 and since then has been entitled "The British Path Toward Socialism." The Italian Communist Party feels that its original political positions lie in the studies and research of Antonio Gramsci regarding the socialist revolution in developed capitalist countries, studies made in the 20's and 30's and also lie in the studies and research of other Italian Marxist thinkers and in program documents of the party adopted later.[2] The communist parties in France and Spain think that the basic aspects of their current orientations come from before World War II, from the era of the Popular Front in France and the antifascist front in Spain.[3]

In the end, despite its natural peculiarities, the basis of socialism as a social-economic formation is unique and for that reason it cannot be divided according to national, regional, semiregional or continental criteria. The principles of socialism and communism are a unified whole and wherever they are carried out, proceeding from the realities of each country, they must lead to the liquidation of social and national inequalities and to achievement of a society for social justice and equity, where the popular masses can fully enjoy the achievements of science and culture and can participate directly in the leadership of all social and economic life.[4]

Thus, the independent program compilations of the communist parties and elements of the concepts regarding the struggle for socialism in the developed capitalist countries have been shaped and defined step by step, over the years, within the persisting efforts to implant themselves solidly and organically in national realities and to work out a political line which would reflect the specific conditions, particular features and their own traditions. "First, with regard to the concept of eurocommunism," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in an interview he gave to the British newspaper THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, "I understand it in the sense of an affirmation of an independent position of the communist parties in the west in working out a political line based on historical, economic and social realities which would assure the democratic development toward socialism for the particular countries."[5]

Bearing in mind the particular features and specific nature of the economic, social and political context of the particular countries which bring the goals and tasks belonging to the socialist forces, which differ from those of the other components of the revolutionary process in other zones, including the ones existing in the countries where the socialist revolution triumphed many decades ago, the western European communist and worker parties are approaching a new strategy and are introducing into revolutionary theory and practice the tactical and strategic formulas and means of action in agreement with current realities and in proportion to the not too far distant past, when it was still felt that it was possible to approach socialist transformation in the west on the basis of experiences already achieved and current strategies of some of the communist parties proceeed from the specific statute

of the developed capitalist countries and from the changes which have occurred in the international system and from the current relationship of forces existing on the world level. Creative scientific socialism and the revolutionary theory of the working class are conditions for success of the activity of a communist party in working out a basic strategy by taking into consideration the particular features of the social-economic context and the experimentation and application of solutions adequate for the struggle for socialism, verification of its own theory and activity in a critical spirit, permanently confronting them with reality and renunciation of schemes and cliches and some theses which have proved their validity under other historical conditions. In this regard, the secretary general of the French Communist Party stressed that actually "today's conditions have no connection with those 50 years, 20 or even 10 years ago. I would be profoundly mistaken if I would repeat and recite some formulas and it would be a profound mistake if we were not capable of imagination and realism in working out our paths toward socialism."[6]

In working out their strategies, the communist parties have proceeded from an analysis of phenomena and trends which have taken place a long time within the economies of the western capitalist countries and from the consequences and their implications at the level of the world economy, which bring out the deepening crisis of monopolist state capitalism as a specific and current phase of the general crisis of the capitalist system. In their theoretical works and in practical activity, the communists have defined the original, lasting and total nature of its crisis, have shown the deep causes for it and have defined its nature. They feel that the current phase of the crisis, which not only is economic but also ideological, political and moral, has its own features and particular characteristics resulting from the prolonged persistence and from aggravation of the inflationary phenonemon, the chronic nature of unemployment, reduction in the rate of economic growth, waste of resources and deepening world inequality. The communist party documents dwell on new and current aspects of the crisis, bring out the stress on and prolonging of it, its instability and efforts at adaptation made by big capital, entwining of the economic crisis with the energy and oil crisis which can have repercussions on the attempts made to overcome it. The communist parties' analyses and positions on manifestations and consequences of the crisis, although they differ considerably, by stressing the particular features and national dimensions, are unanimous in stressing that it is a question of aggravation of the structural crisis of the capitalist system and the very intimate mechanisms of operation of the bourgeois system.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and sharpening of the contradictions in the system based on exploitation raise the problem of carrying out deep democratic changes within some western European societies, changes which would include both production forces as well as production relations so that a new model of growth would be inaugurated which would assure the general progress of peoples and satisfy the population's consumer demands rationally and equitably. As Santiago Carillo pointed out, "Given the total nature of this crisis, the opportunity exists to carry out a change in the model of society, for overcoming capitalism and making the transition to socialism, despite the fact that this cannot be done by tomorrow or all at once."[7]

A thorough analysis of the economic, social and political conditions in the developed capitalist countries and of the stages and processes through which they will pass from capitalism and socialism stresses that they are not facing a socialist revolution. The communist parties' program documents forecast the possibility of some intermediate stages--"antimonopoly" stages and a"democratic surge toward socialism"--within which the necessary conditions will be created for the move ahead toward a new social system. The goals of such a stage provide for overcoming the crisis on a democratic and equitable path, limiting the power of the big monopolies and passing some branches under state control,deepening democracy in all areas of activity and broadening the participation of the democratic forces in the leadership of political and public affairs and others."[8]

Formation of a new view of the socialist revolution as a complex process of the transition from capitalism to socialism and of conditions for launching it and for the victory of it is an important feature of the strategy of the western European revolutionary forces. The basis of the communist parties' current strategic concepts lies in the orientation toward achieving political power by peaceful and democratic means. The victory of the socialist revolution in this view is not linked either with the automatic destruction of capitalism under the burden of its own difficulties and contradictions or a far-reaching economic crisis or by declaring World War III. In this part of the world the socialist revolution is being shaped as a prolonged process in which the socialist forces will continually achieve new positions economically and politically, proceeding from which it will be possible to offer a better resistance against the offensive of the reactionary forces. As G. Marchais pointed out, "The democratic move toward socialism can only be a process of struggle by the masses which, through more and more firm democratic achievements, permits a change in the relationship of social and political forces in favor of the popular forces. This move forward will be expressed in each stage in struggle and universal suffrage."[9] In the same regard, Enrico Berlinguer stated at the 15th Italian Communist Party Congress; "Our permanent concern is to have the struggles of the worker and popular movement take on a higher degree of justice and innovation, at the same time avoiding having the resistance and counterattacks of the reactionary groups find a solid base which would block or push back the worker and popular movement."[10]

This is because there presently is a new relationship of forces in the world favorable to progress, peace and socialism. It is a fact that a fan of social-political forces which is broader and broader is opposing itself to imperialism and its policy of dictate and interference in the affairs of other states and of trampling national sovereignty and independence, forces which, by the share they hold and through the ideas and concepts they promote, can assure progress and peace for mankind and, at the same time, limit the opportunities for the aggressive circles of the bourgeoisie for unhindered intervention in the affairs of other peoples. At the same time, the nuclear era in which man now is living, with its continually proliferating and improving nuclear arsenal, places before all people their collective destruction,as a result making it impossible to accept the idea of a new war as a condition for launching the socialist revolution.

The strategy for the peaceful transition to socialism, for that reason, makes international solidarity and activity carried out to consolidate detente, security and peace and fulfillment of general disarmanent, primarily nuclear disarmanent and respect for the principles and standards of relations among states dedicated to modern international justice one of its basic features. In the process of detente in Europe and in international relations, some communist parties have included themselves as active participants and promoters; the programs of foreign policy and their international strategies give maximum importance to the struggle against a new world war, liquidation of military blocs and bloc policy, to achieving a new international political and economic order, bearing in mind precisely the correlation between fulfilling the historic mission of the working class and their current strategic and tactical goals and the existence of an international climate of peace and collaboration among peoples.

With a view to carrying out their plans for the transformation of society by peaceful and democratic means, the western European communist parties are orienting themselves in the direction of implementing vast social and political alliances, toward rallying the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces and masses of women, young generation and the middle strata from the villages and cities and the intellectuals around the working class and toward achieving their hegemony in society against domination by big capital. An expression of the big changes which have taken place in the developed capitalist societies and of the multiple effects of the scientific-technical revolution, the process of social stratification , direct consequences of the structural crisis of capitalism on vast social categories, pushing them by itself toward the positions of the working class, powerful objective conditions exist in the current stage which are bringing the working masses into the struggle for social and national progress. For that reason, it is the duty of the political parties of the working class to carefully study the social-political context in which they are taking action and to channel the many mass demonstrations along the path of the struggle against imperialism and for implementing the deep democratic transformations and for safeguarding and consolidating peace.

Within this fan of political forces, due to its objective position in the production process, its share in total salaried population , its consistent attachment to the values of socialism, democracy and peace, the working class is called on to hold growing political responsibility in the current phase of the crisis of capitalism and an irreplaceable leading role.

Achievement of the working class' unity of action and collaboration between this class' parties, particularly among communists and socialists, at this time, when new and important opportunities exist for cooperation and getting closer together, broad objective conditions as well as a high degree of politization of some large strata of the population, are a main demand of the social-political life in the western European countries. Evaluated in all the scope of its implications, considered in function of the influence it has in carrying out deep innovative transformation required by modern society and placed in relationship to the new trends being demonstrated on the international arena

and to intensification of the policy of domination and redivision of the zones of influence, working class unity is a process whose qualities are materialized in its objective nature and in the varieties of forms in which it is carried out, with implementation of it being required by the very need for continuing to improve these relationships and the need to raise the role of the revolutionary forces in each country and assure success in the anti-monopolist struggle and for democratic transformations. The process of implementing working class unity, one of the most complex problems facing it now, although being asserted as a general trend, is being carried out in differing forms and paths from one country to another and from one stage to another, with difficulties, obstacles and even steps backward existing at times.

Currently opportunities for collaboration in various European countries may be considered to have increased, having in mind precisely the facts, objective reality and growing aspiration of the masses for transformation and innovation and the current relationship of forces in the world. In the same regard, we have some new phenomena and trends which have appeared in both branches of the worker movement--of course, in varying proportions--but phenomena which may facilitate collaboration and rapprochement more than in the past.

The current ideological program, practical orientation toward collaboration with the socialists and other progressive and democratic forces is a basic feature of the communist and worker parties' strategy and not an accidental assertion of the moment. It is stressed and argued in their program documents, in congress resolutions and decisions, in bilateral documents as well as in those adopted at multilateral meetings. "The Political Statement Adopted by the Conference of Communist Parties from the European Capitalist Countries" (Brussels, January 1974) stressed the communists' will to arrange "contacts, understandings and joint actions with the socialist and social democratic parties for goals which correspond to the urgent needs of those who work and the interest of security and cooperation in Europe. The success of the struggles of the working class and of those who work for social progress, democracy, peace and socialism depends to a decisive extent on this dialog and on this joint action ."[11] The theses of the Italian Communist Party for the 15th congress, treating the problems linked with cooperation of the country's democratic forces, brings out that the policy of democratic unity is the axis ofRomanian Communist Party strategy. As it points out, "The political unity of the working class and the need for unity between the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party have been the basic element in the party's policy throughout the historic stage which began with the antifascist resistance and the liberation struggle; this matter is even more valid today, when the opportunity for a political turning point has been formed, and the big problems of the struggle to proceed forward on a new path of democratic and socialist transformation are at the forefront of the agenda."[12]

The French Communist Party feels that the alliance with the Socialist Party "is indispensable in a country such as ours."[13] "We want this for today and for tomorrow,"[14] proposing achievement of this through "actions from below."

The program and proposals of the Swedish communists to remove the country from the economic crisis, presented at the 25th congress, stress the need for broad cooperation"with other portions of the organized working class and with the other forces in order to be capable of solving the problems of getting out of the crisis. We believe that the opportunities for achieving a cooperation of the left forces are continually growing in the current situation."[15]

The theses of the Dutch Communist Party with a view to the 26th congress bring out that forces are being formed on which a government coalition could be based which would promote a new policy in the country, points out: "Such an alliance can be achieved under the current conditions, first within extraparliamentary actions in which the unity between the communists and the socialists would represent the point of departure."[16]

The Romanian Communist Party's rich experience in the struggle to achieve working class unity is proof of the fact that this class' unity and the collaboration between socialists and communists are the basis for a broad grouping of popular and democratic forces. Also, the recent or more distant history of the various political parties of the working class in Europe or in other zones of the world offers numerous proof which demonstrate that important successes have been and can be obtained in defending and extending the workers' rights and freedoms in the consolidation of sovereignty and national independence when the socialists and communists have acted or do act in collaboration.

In the theoretical activity of the western European communist parties, an important place is held by shaping the features of society for which they are militating in their countries. Clearly, the transition to socialism by the peoples in this part of the world as well as of others, bearing in mind the particular features and specific nature of them, will enrich the theory and practice of revolution and construction of socialism with new aspects and features. The communist party documents of France, Italy, Spain, England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and others give special significance to achieving economic, social and political democracy, bearing in mind that long traditions of parliamentary life exist in these particular countries and some of the democratic rights and freedoms gained by the working class and other workers through dozens of years of bitter struggles, through the retention and extension of which their plans to achieve socialism by peaceful means can be carried out. As E. Berlinguer pointed out, "It is a question of a view of the transition to socialism and the characteristics of a socialist society which has deep roots in the history of western Europe and in the centuries-old struggles for political, cultural and religious freedoms which have characterized it, particularly in the great battles for democracy, freedom and social progress carried on and won by the workers' movement."[17]

The revolutionary process in the western capitalist countries, one of the most complex and broad of the modern world with its many original particular features, is subjecting the capitalist system to a continuous erosion. One of

its significant aspects consists of the existence of objective conditions which are favorable to the structural transformations in the direction of socialism and insufficient "maturization" of the subject factors. In this context, achievement of the unity of action of the forces concerned, in differing degrees and measures, in replacing the capitalist system is gaining particular importance. Seen from this viewpoint, the unity of the democratic and progressive forces is in various stages of evolution, more advanced in some countries and less advanced in others.

Yet, it is without a doubt that the future belongs to the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces and, sooner or later, due to the laws of dialectics, these countries, too, will make the transition to socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Meeting of the Central Party and State Aktiv, 3 August 1978" in "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Volume 61, Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1979, pp 538-539.

2. U. Pecchioli, "Note Introductive Sur 'L'Eurocummunisme" in "L'Eurocommunisme," Paris, Les Editions de la Nouvelle Critique, 1978 p 159.

3. Santiago Carillo," Eurocomunismo y Estado," Barcelona, Edit. Critica, Grijalbo Editorial Group, 1977, p 130 .

4. See the interview given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the Spanish newspaper INFORMACIONES in SCINTEIA No 11429, 22 May 1979 p 1.

5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Interview Given to the British Newspaper THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH,"9 May 1978 in "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Volume 16, Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1979, p 163.

6. PAESE SERA, 15 June 1965.

7. Report presented by Comrade Santiago Carillo to the Spanish Communist Party 9th Congress in SCIENTEIA No 11096, 23 April 1978, p 5.

8. See T. Caraciuc, "Social Confrontations in Modern Capitalism," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1979, p 208.

9. L'HUMANITE, No 10793, 10 May 1979 p 7.

10. L'UNITA, 31 March 1979.

11. "Political Statement Adopted at the Conference of Communist Parties From the European Capitalist Countries" in ERA SOCIALISTA No 4, 1974.

12. "Italian Communist Party. Theses for the 15th Party Congress" in SCINTEIA No 11313, 5 January 1979, p 5.

13. L'HUMANITE (supplement) No 10720, 13 February 1979 p X.

14. Ibidem.

15. "Program of the Party and Proposals of the Swedish Communists for Removing the Country From the Economic Crisis" in SCINTEIA No 11049, 29 February 1978, p 3.

16. "Theses of the Dutch Communist Party With a View to the 26th Party Congress" in SCINTEIA, 15 December 1977, p 5.

17. L'UNITA, 4 December 1978.

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MARXIST VIEWS ON PROBLEM OF ALIENATION

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL IN Romanian No 4, Oct-Dec 79 pp 788-794

/Article by Alexandru Boboc of the University of Bucharest/

/Text/ 1. When Karl Marx wrote, "Let us examine in more detail the objectification, the production of products by the worker and, within this objectification, the alienation, loss of the object,that is, what the worker produced,"[1] he was giving proper expression to a basic distinction between two particularly complex social phenomena which already had taken on the forms of a theory of alienation in modern philosophical awareness, particularly in Hegel and Feuerbach.

Differing from his predecessorsthe author of "Das Kapital" analyzed the main forms and processuality of alienation, however broadly, taken in their unity with what he called "man's generic objectification," decisively stressing the historic nature of alienation and its dependence on the specific conditions of human labor and not its essence as such. As a result, the theory of labor and of objectification worked out by Marx mainly through specifically historical and dialectical study of the basic antagonisms of modern bourgeois society cannot even have the theory of alienation as a corollary. Along these bases, of course, it was said that "the theory of alienation is a genuine element of Marxist thought and,as a result, it fulfills a real function in social activity" and that this theory "is not a component part really of Marxist concept but rather a genuine component part."[2]

Given the insistence with which the problem of alienation returns to modern thought and particularly the consubstantiality between this problem and that of the means of existence of contradictions in social life, in the following we will examine a recent plan for reconstruction in the Marxist theory of alienation. From the start we mention that the plan is taking place in the field of the dialog and confrontations of opinions within Marxism and, as a result, it should be researched in this framework and not suspected a priori of being "revisionist," and so forth.

It is the question of A. Schaff's book[3] entitled "Alienation as a Social Phenomenon," which continues his older concerns.[4]

As Schaff defined it, the problem of social-political alienation appears in the young Marx under a characteristic form of discussions and awareness of the era; although today we know it in the form and presentations which Marx gave it in his maturity , here, too, in any case it has continuity with the ideas from his youth.[5] Marx did not limit himself to determining man's "dualism" toward alienation but he also drew conclusions which established the basis for his program of action in the era and led him "in theory to historical materialism and in politics to communism."[6]

In the context of what was stated above regarding the profile of A. Schaff's concerns, in the following we will draw attention to the more important ideas of his recent book, hoping that , at the same time, we will propose a discussion of a real problem, about which there has been very much negative discussion in the field of Marxist research, viewing it not as variable, but as untrue!

2. With a significant title, "Alienation as a Social Phenomenon," A. Schaff's new book is a sustained plea for the following: 1. The opportunity for the problem of alienation in Marxist research; 2. The need for reconstruction (actually, development) of the Marxist theory of alienation and critical analysis of the newer forms of the theory of alienation as these forms are presented in sociological and social-psychological research; 3) Fixing the role of the theory of alienation in the analysis of socialism.

From here we also have the structure of the work: Marxism and the theory of alienation and about the "fate" of the Marxist theory of alienation (chapter I); objective alienation (chapter II); subjective alienation and the relationships between subjective and objective alienation (chapter III); socialism and alienation and the possibility of alienation in socialism (chapter IV). Since the author feels that "no social formation, not even communism, is free of the danger of alienation and since objectification (vergegenstandlichhung) is an independent phenomenon of history which, under determined social conditions, degenerates into alienation, there always exists the danger that this possibility can become real."[7]

And from here we also have a certain program--"the need to combat this danger, the danger of alienation and self-alienation (selbstentfremdung), a permanent danger which also extends tover communism."[8] The fact that "people exist who are held by a sharp fear of Marxism once it is applied to socialism" does not change another fact, that is, "that the struggle to overcome (aufhebung) alienation has not lost its importance even in socialism. In the end the result is that the problem is not reduced to finding that alienation exists in socialism no matter how much theoretical satisfaction such a finding would offer; it is the need for the grouping of all forces to struggle against phenomena of alienation and to overcome alienation."[9]

At the same time the work is systematic and critical and polemical both with those who, in the last three decades in particular, have made the problem of alienation a "fashion" as well as with those who simply have left it out of the socialized research and those for whom the simple use of the concept of alienation seemed to be a "danger," an affirmation of "revisionism."

Basically the author argues the following ideas: 1. That Marx' theory of alienation is not "merely an error of his youth," a "residue of Hegelianism which had not been overcome," but rather "a genuine element" of Marxist concept; 2. That today's Marxists and communists do not have to limit themselves to representing Marx' theory of alienation but, instead, proceeding from the consideration of the problem of alienation "as a problem of central importance in socialism," should find the proper vocabulary to reflect the new phenomena,[10] that is, develop the theory. "The problems of man, of humanism and of the theory of alienation, to the extent to which they have not become fashionable in Marxist circles, have gained the right of a fortress. Any scientific work in this field, through its very Marxist, well-founded premises, is an element of struggle for that which is new and real in the life of socialist society."[11]

As a result, the author feels, the theme of alienation cannot remain outside the genuineness of Marxist research, a subject of "Marxology" (in a negative sense, in which not study of Marxism but , to a large extent, nihilist criticism of it takes precedence), while the person approaching this subject is not a "revisionist."

The position and role of the theory of alienation "in the system of Marxist thought" can be understood only if we take into consideration an indisputable fact that this theory "concerns not only the young Marx but also the Marx in his maturity, the author of "'Das Kapital.'"[12] Although the term alienation no longer appears here, one cannot help but observe that "the entire reflection on a society which has overcome its spontaneous nature of development, giving it a planned nature, is based on the theory of alienation"; this is clearly seen by "the theory of fetishism for goods."[13]

What is more, the theory of alienation in "Manuscripts of 1844" is "closely linked with Marx' economic studies and is based on an analysis of economic realities (all analyses of alienation in "Manuscripts" circumscribe the problem of productive labor), which explains why Marx, continuing his economic research, retained and developed the theory of alienation like a means of investigation."[14]

On the basis of a broad analysis of Marx' texts, the author criticizes the existentialist understanding of alienation only as "subjective alienation," "self-alienation," as well as the repetition of this understanding by some Marxists.[15]

In this context there also is examination of "the fate of the Marxist theory of alienation,"[16] which "shared the fate of Marxist philosophy, whose element it is"; from here, also is the "renaissance" of the theory of alienation, particularly following World War II, when man's problems came to the forefront of attention; an important role in this "new orientation" was played by the French communists and some thinkers from the "Frankfurt School."[17]

Mentioning the penetrating analyses of "objective alienation" and "subjective alienation"[18] based on the idea of the difference between "man's alienation from a determined system of relationships" and "the relationship of the

product of alienation with its creator, the social man,"[19] we draw attention to the research of the problem of anomy and alienation.[20] It is a question of a relationship of complementary natures based in specific situations of the social relationship; mainly, "anomy explains the birth of self-alienation."[21]

Basically, the problem remains that of alienation as a complex social phenomenon in which "objective alienation in the life of society is reflected in people's awareness in the form of the most varied kinds of subjective alienation."[22] The result is a double conclusion, methodical (regarding research of the phenomenon) and program (regarding appropriate procedures for overcoming alienation).

The Marxist explanation of the phenomenon of alienation is clear and does not need commentary, except in the sense of underlining the high quality and profundity of the analyses. The author carries on a brilliant polemic with the subjectivist interpretations of the existentialists, with the "empiricism" of a mechanical approach and, particularly, with that categoric "no" of those who believe that the "return" to the concept of alienation would lead "to revision of revolutionary theory and the basic principles of communism."[23]

In this context, the broad discussion (the entire 4th chapter) under the heading "Socialism and Alienation" becomes all the more interesting. However, this is not due to the unusual nature of the solutions but rather to the realism of the analyses and the searches.

Perhaps, Schaff asks, generally speaking, alienation exists in socialism. The answer can only be positive.

Certainly, the author states, "in the new constellation, power and social relationships change their character, their methods of operation and other things, which, however do not change their basic characteristic as products of alienation--in light of Marxism, this would also be impossible."[24] In this perspective, the author feels that forms of alienation are the economics of goods, the division of labor, state and bureaucracy and so forth. "Theoretically, planning of social development from above should facilitate the struggle to overcome alienation. However, from here it does not follow that theory and practice are covered."[25] Specifically, alienation "on three levels" is to be overcome in the socialist society: "a. In the relationship between man and social institutions; b. In man's relationship with nature; c. In man's relationship with his own personality as formed by society."[26]

In particular, the author emphasizes, we should treat realistically the problems connected with the existence of the state and bureaucracy, to which Marx and later Lenin drew attention. "As long as bureaucracy exists, both along a state as well as party line, it is a typical phenomenon of alienation, even if we are dealing with a socialist state. Matters are the same with such social phenomena as the difference between physical and intellectual labor,

nationalism, race hatred and so forth. All these are forms of the phenomenon of alienation and this does not change the fact that, together with the beginning of socialism, many things changed, the fact that the state itself has another meaning and that the class structure, labor relationships and many other things change."[27]

Given this actual situation , the problem being posed is the following: how to be able to defeat (overcome) alienation in socialism. The answer is conditional on the translation of the "general postulates" (creation of necessary objective conditions) "in the vocabulary of concrete actions." "Abstract prescriptions would be senseless"; "only propaganda is not enough," but, rather there is a need to "create material conditions for life," "develop socialist democracy" and this is "not in words, but in facts."[28]

3. Beyond some of the aspects which can be discussed, which, however, do not belong to principle but rather to the area of giving examples and some polemic contexts, A. Schaff's work is particularly interesting and is an example of competent Marxist analysis of an extremely complex social phenomenon.

Without question, as the author himself stated, his new book is an invitation to a basic theoretical discussion. And this is to the benefit of Marxist social theory and the process of clarification and establishment of a realistic spirit in Marxist approaches to modern socialist society.

Mainly, in his new book which is to be appreciated for his theoretical openings and, in particular, for the minute labor of cleansing Marxist philosophical awareness of certain preconceived ideas and even dogmas, A. Schaff has proven to be a fine analyst , one with good knowledge not only of ideologies but also of realities. Proposing that we recover a genuine problem from the multitude of literature in which, if not mystifications, at least learned exegesis isolated from practice has transformed treatment of it into a fashion, the author has done a true service in the understanding of Marx' work and the continuity and unity between it and modern Marxist development.

Some of A. Schaff's abandonments, however, are to beimproved. Although dominantly circumscribed to a realistic understanding of the phenomena of alienation, some theses claim to have general validity (perhaps also due to a lack of more sustained argument in the analysis of some specific situations), while, actually, they have their validity in the context.

For example, "Chances to eliminate bureaucracy exist only when elimination of the state and of political parties and of the institutions which mean the existence of a bureaucratic apparatus" is put forth in all seriousness; the theory of alienation "preserves its sociotechnical job (the term sociotechnical expresses the interpenetration between theory and practice, a conscious activity with the goal of the people or, as Schaff says, the fact that "theory is the basis for practice and even is practice ") and in socialism and even strengthens and deepens it, at least theoretically, being favored by the planned nature of development of the socialist society; the problem of

bureaucracy in socialism basically belongs to the problem of the state and the party," since "the state, party and bureaucracy comprise a specific unity."[29]

The much discussed problem of bureaucracy, beyond posing it in principle in Schaff as well as in the founders of Marxism, also requires a more concrete approach, placed into context; since, anyhow, concluding of the latter also involves an improvement of the means of organization and administration which bring a rupture with the phenomenon of "bureacracy" understood, as Schaff writes, as "poor operation" of "the apparatus" (state and party). However, it is true that the abovementioned improvement does not take place mechanically but is a prolonged process which, however, leads to elimination of the alienation of power. It is precisely this which is the meaning of the efforts to deepen democracy toward establishing unity and harmony between the leadership organs and the masses.[30]

With regard to the discussion on "the usefulness of the theory of alienation for social-technical," it is to be questioned whether the distinction between "historically conditioned alienation and , thus, alienation which can be overcome" (which makes "the socio-technical function of the theory of alienation" possible, as Schaff says) and "in general" alienation again brings difficulty in the interpenetration between objectification and alienation.

Of course, the idea of usefulness of the theory of alienation in order to have a concrete understanding of the interaction between theory and practice and the practical base for theory--which the author calls "the sociotechnical function of the theory--does not raise objections and the idea mentioned does not contradict the thesis of alienation as "an historical phenomenon." As Schaff writes, "Followers of the theory according to which alienation is an element of the human condition above all are committing the mistake of assimilating alienation with self-alienation; doing this, they lose sight of the objective relationship of alienation with man's products, which are of a clearly historical nature,and they mystify the problem of subjective alienation (self-alienation), which, as we know, may be explained rationally and interpreted only if it is understood that it is a result of "objective alienation."[31]

Such a clear and concise explanation leads to a precise solution: "If alienation is an historically conditioned phenomenon, then overcoming it also is in the realm of possibilities. For that reason, in Marxism, alienation and overcoming of it are organically linked and for that reason we may also speak of the socio-technical function of the theory of alienation."[32] However, the following formulation is a little less precise: " A given form of alienation,however, can beovercome conditioned by given social relationships, together with which the overcoming of these relationships also is given. This still does not mean that alienation 'in general' has been overcome. This simply is impossible, since, once objectification (vergegenstandlichung) exists--and this is a necessity of life in any social formation--it can be changed rapidly into alienation once appropriate conditions are given, conditions which cannot be named beforehand, with their depending on overall social relationships during a certain period."[33]

The author himself feels the difficulty and, as a result of admitting the "thesis on the suprahistorical (ubergeschichtlichen) nature of the phenomena of alienation" ("on this thesis," the author writes, "I am supported when I assert that phenomena of alienation also appear in socialism"), speaks of the "clear contradiction between the thesis of 'phenomenonof alienation have an historical nature' and 'phenomena of alienation have a suprahistorical nature.'"[34] The following seems to him to be the way to get out of this difficulty: "The enunciations supported here speak of the various works and are concerned with the phenoemnon of alienation in a particular area, which excludes their contradictory nature."[35]

Basically, the distinction is made in order to explain the "possibility of alienation in socialism," as the author himself says. With matters defined in this way, however, the thesis is not confirmed regarding the "suprahistorical nature of the phenomena of alienation," but rather, we feel, the thesis of a certain continuity (historically conditioned), better stated, a certain persistence in socialism of a means of existence of objectification in previous systems, however next to other means in which objectification no longer has the form of alienation.

However, this is not a plea for the "suprahistorical nature" or for alienation "in general." Although it does not eliminate or "overcome" (in the vocabulary of the modern theory of alienation) the phenomena of alienation (social phenomena through excellence) except through an entire historical process, the establishment of socialism produces a total rupture with the dominant means of existence of objectification in capitalism through the very fact that, by offering concrete conditions for the inverse phenomenon (of disalienation), it places the mentioned means under the sign of historicity and, inevitably, under the question mark.

Actually, together with presence of truth that not every objectification is alienation (although this is a form of objectification), a presence structurally linked with Marx' thought, the conditions (clearly, historical conditions) for objectification are brought out and, as such, an historicity appears in the forefront. From the moment that the human being himself has proven to be historical, nothing can remain "suprahistorical" any longer.

The distinction between objectification as such, man's structure as a "generic being," and the specific historical means of any objectification stresses the element of permanence and the idea of the historical statute of objectification and of man himself as a species, as humanity. For that reason, from the formulation that "objectification is a phenomenon independent of history,"[36] independence should be taken only in the relative meaning of the possibility of distinguishing between being in a certain history (in a moment determined of history) and of being continually in history, in the opening of the historical process.

In this context and against the analyses undertaken by A. Schaff, we think that, beyond the distinction between "objective alienation" and "subjective

alienation," research should still be developed on the subjective (intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual in general) consequences of both forms of alienation. This would be an opportunity to recover for the needs of the Marxist theory of alienation a problem which many modern orientations have analyzed, particularly existentialism and personalism.

This would also be a field for confrontation of Marxist theory with other viewpoints (actually, with other theories) and for developing a Marxist criticism of the object of them, not generic criticism. It is a chapter for which we still are uncovered, which is seen all the more since the criticism of Marx and of Marxism in this area in recent decades has taken on a broad scope.

Clearly, the above observations as well as developments do not aim at the lacks of fulfillment of A. Schaff's book but, rather, they stress even more the significance and usefulness of it for current theoretical discussions and for the theoretical-philosophicalreconstruction taking place today under the sign of Marx' thought. No matter how many objections could be made of the work of the well-known Polish philosopher, it remains a remarkable one and fills a memorable page in the evolution of contemporary Marxist thought.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 in K. Marx and Fr. Engels , "Writings From Youth," Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1966, p 551.

2. A. Schaff, "Entfremdung als Soziales Phanomen," Vienna, Europaverlag, 1977, p 15, 128.

3. Adam Schaff (born 1913), a renowned and influential Polish Marxist thinker, whose works in the area of semantics and philosophy of language, of the theory of knowledge, the theory of history and humanism, works translated into circulating languages, has been taking action for a long time in the complex process of contemporary philosophical reconstruction.

   We mention here "The Birth and Development of Marxist Philosophy" (1949); "Problems of the Marxist Theory of the Truth" (1951); "Introduction to Semantics" (1961); "Language and Knowledge" (1963); "History and Truth. An Essay on the Objectivity of Historical Knowledge" (1970); "Marxism and the Human Individual" (1965); "Marx and Contemporary Humanism" (1963); "Language-Thought-Action" (1968); "Generative Grammar and the Concept of Inborn Ideas" (1972). We find a listing of A. Schaff's works in "Der Mensch--Subjekt und Objekt. Festschrift fur Adam Schaff," Europaverlag, 1973, a volume devoted to man's problems and, in this framework, to stressing the thinker's contributions.

   Among them, "Introduction to Semantics" (also translated into Romanian in 1966) early on marked an opening in the Marxist treatment of semantics and philosophy of language and at the same time in the practice of Marxist criticism of other philosophers. Schaff is a promoter of sociological

research and at the same time is active in the big international philosophical confrontations. I should mention his participation in the 16th World Congress of Philosophy (Dusseldorf, 1978) in the Marxists' dialog with the Christian spiritualists and in discussing the subject "The Dispute of Today's Universals." This participation, as well as others, but particularly Schaff's theoretical contributions, we think deserve broader discussion. And this is apropos the knowledge of some representative thinkers in contemporary Marxism!

4. We mention that, from the discussions we have had with A. Schaff (in Dusseldorf in August 1978 at the 16th World Congress of Philosophy and in Bucharest in November 1978 during the visit of the Polish thinker to ASSP), the following resulted: 1) He thinks that the most important work until now is "History and Truth" and 2) He is intensely occupied with researching linguistic stereotypes against the background of the study of problems of language.

   In this context, the problem of alienation seems to him to be one of the problems of the future for Marxist research. As a result, he feels that his work on alienation in principle is an invitation to discussion and he is interested in knowing other viewpoints.

5. A. Schaff, "Marxisum und das Menschliche Individuum," Rowohlt Taschenbach Verlag GmbH, Hamburg, 1970, p 134.

6. Ibidem p 135. It is well to remember that this work drew the admiration of one of the great spirits of our century, Tadeus Kotarbinski, founder of praxology, and he wrote: "I state that I am in favor of what is proposed in the book by Prof Adam Schaff, entitled 'Marxism and the Human Individual.' We surely have a need for what this book proclaims ; "what pleases and comforts the readers of the work analyzed is that it is considered as Marxism" (Causerie Avec un Livre Ou l'on A Lu," in the volume "Der Mensch-Subjekt und Objekt Festschrift fur Adam Schaff," Europaverlag, 1973, p 209, 211).

7. A.Schaff, "Entfremdung als Soziales Phanomen," ed. cit., p 345.

8. Ibidem, pp 345-346.

9. Ibidem, p 291.

10. Ibidem, p 26.

11. Ibidem, p 28.

12. Ibidem, p 39. Toward this end, A. Schaff offers a broad analysis of Marx' work, an analysis presented particularly in the first three chapters of the work. It is, we think, a genuine study at the source of Marx' thought, considered in its evolution and its unity. However, it is not question of "an historical analysis of ideas but rather of the sociopolitical basis for the phenomenon" (Ibidem, p 41). We draw attention to

the detailed examination--exemplary, I would say--of the concepts of "entfremdung"(alienation), "entaussergung" (exteriorization of the basic self), "Verausserlichung (simple exteriorization), see p 45 and following and, of course, of that "Abenteur" (adventurer) of thought, which is the term "Aufhebung" (Overcoming) (see p 59 and following).

13. Ibidem, p 65. The idea is strengthened by the presence of "fetishism" for the following concepts in the analysis by Marx: "Verdinglichung" (reification), "Objektivierung" (objectification) and Versachlichung" (tactitiousness) which "are more comprehensive than the concept of alienation and which can replace it" (Ibidem, p 470).

14. Ibidem, p 87. As a result, the theory of alienation is "neither a heresy nor a revisionist invention, but rather an authentic work by Marx (Ibid.)

15. Ibidem, p 92, 111 and following.

16. Ibidem, p 128-141.

17. Ibidem, pp 92, 111 and following

18. Ibidem, pp 143-278.

19. Ibidem, p 189.

20. Ibidem, pp 190-210.

21. Ibidem, pp 209, 210. "Anomy" , according to Durkhemi, basically means the lack of standards, that is, more than the lack of determined rules and laws.

22. Ibidem, p 277.

23. M. Buhr. "Entfremdung--Philosophische Anthropologie--Marx-Kritik" in DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUR PHILOSOPHIE No 7, 1966, p 806. "Apud," A. Schaff, op. cit., p 13.

24. Ibidem.

25. Ibidem, p 291.

26. Ibidem, p 294.

27. Ibidem, p 191.

28. A. Schaff, "Entfremdung als Soziales Phanomen," Ed. Cit., p 344.

29. Ibidem, pp 181, 281, 291, 310, 327.

30. Clearly, the author is aiming at the concrete phenomena in the socialist countries and is suggesting the idea of their unnaturalness in socialism when he wrote: "The problem of state and party bureaucracy is the problem of power and, as a result, alienation in this area is equal with the alienation of power and what represents for social life the most dangerous form of alienation--political alienation" (Ibidem, p 311.).

31. Ibidem, p 285.

32. Ibidem.

33. Ibidem, p 286.

34. Ibidem, p 287.

35. Ibidem, p 288.

36. Ibidem, p 345.

37. In particular, we find a reflection of these confrontations around Marx' theory in Ingert Knecht, "Theorie der Entfremdung bei Sartre und Marx" (A. Hain, Meisenheim am Glan, 1975) and, earlier (1968) in Joachim Israel, "L'Alienation de Marx a la Sociologie Contemporaine" (Editions Anthropos, Paris, 1972).

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DECREE ON NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 20, 8 Mar 80 pp 1-6

/State Council Decree on the Organization and Operation of the National Council for Science and Technology/

/Text/ The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. The National Council for Science and Technology is a party and state body that has the task of providing for the unitary implementation of the policy of the party and the state in the field of science and technology in order to promote technical and scientific progress in all sectors of economic and social life in accordance with the requirements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and with the objectives of the Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism.

Article 2. The National Council for Science and Technology provides the orientation, guidance and supervision of the activity of scientific and technical creation and the unitary coordination of the entire activity in this field.

The National Council for Science and Technology provides for the mobilization of the whole scientific and technical potential of the scientific research and technological engineering units, the scientists, the scientific researchers, the technological engineers, the teaching personnel and the design and production specialists in order to fulfill the objectives and tasks established in the directive program for scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress and the main directions of development of science and technology in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Article 3. The National Council for Science and Technology is a widely representative deliberative body and performs its activity under the direct

guidance of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. The National Council for Science and Technology promotes basic and prospective research with a view to deeper and deeper knowledge of the structure of matter for controlling the physical, chemical and biological processes in nature for man's benefit. At the same time, the research activity must contribute to the knowledge and conscious use of the objective laws of economic and social development so that, in relation to the changes and transformations in production forces and social relations, the scientific discoveries foresee and conceive new directions of development of society.

Article 5. The National Council for Science and Technology organizes and is responsible for the entire activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress performed in order to apply the gains of science and technology in all branches and fields of economic and social activity.

To this end, the National Council for Science and Technology will pursue mainly:

a) The promotion of research that leads to the development of the base of raw materials, through the discovery and utilization of new sources of raw materials and supplies, the raising of the degree of recovery and utilization of resources in deposits, the introduction of new resources into the economic circuit, and the recovery and reuse of materials;

b) The intensification of geologic research for developing the national power-producing potential and of research and technological engineering for developing the production of power and applying new power-producing technologies; the improvement of the organization and operation of the electric power system; the reduction of consumption and the utilization of power with high economic efficiency;

c) The creation and assimilation of new products, machines, equipment, apparatus and installations with economic and technical characteristics at the level of world technology, the redesigning of existing ones, and the devising of new materials and substitutes, in order to intensify the process of modernization of industrial production;

d) The devising and application of advanced systems and means for mechanizing and automating the production processes;

e) The typification and standardization of materials, components, subassemblies, machines, installations, equipment and constructions with a view to reducing the consumption of raw materials, supplies, energy and fuel and raising the quality and economic efficiency;

f) The providing of the intensive use of the country's agricultural potential and the achievement of high-yield plant varieties and hybrids and animal breeds with a short period of maturation, adapted to environmental conditions and resistant to diseases and pests, through the application of new discoveries in biology;

g) The devising and application of technologies and the creation of equipment, installations and systems with a high degree of operating safety that lead to a marked increase,in labor productivity, a reduction of specific consumptions and a rise in economic efficiency and in the quality and competitiveness of the products;

h) The promotion of research that leads to deeper knowledge of the functional processes of the human organism in order to maintain and strengthen the state of health, prolong the duration of active life and increase the average lifespan of the population;

i) The development of research that provides solutions for the combating of environmental degradation and pollution and the devising of nonpolluting technologies and of materials meant to neutralize harmful agents and limit noise and vibration.

Article 6. The National Council for Science and Technology must orient the scientific research activity so that it precedes the objectives and requirements for the development of society provided in the party's program, the five-year plans and the long-term forecasts and must provide for the promotion of original creation and the utilization of the progressive traditions of Romanian science and technology.

Article 7. The National Council for Science and Technology provides for the improvement of professional training, the retraining of scientific research and technological engineering personnel and the stimulation of the innovative capacity of the working people and contributes to the political education of them in the spirit of socialist humanism, for forming the new man, a builder of socialism and communism.

Article 8. The National Council for Science and Technology provides for the wide participation of the scientists of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the efforts made on a world level for the progress of science and technology and in the continual expansion of the exchange of values, promotes scientific and technical cooperation with other countries and pursues the utilization of original scientific research and technological development and the raising of the contribution of Romanian science and technology to the improvement of the world scientific, technical and cultural treasure.

Article 9. The National Council for Science and Technology also fulfills the function of a section of the Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development in the field of science, technology and environmental protection.

The National Council for Science and Technology coordinates the activity of the ministries and the other central and local bodies in the field of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress. It provides for wide consulation with scientists, scientific researchers, technological engineers, teaching personnel and design and production specialists.

The ministries and the other central and local bodies are responsible for performing the tasks that devolve upon them, in accordance with the law, in the field of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress.

Chapter II
Duties

A. Regarding the Management, Coordination and Orientation of the Activity of Scientific Research, Technological Development, and Introduction of Technical Progress

a) It manages, coordinates and is responsible for the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress and provides for the orientation of it toward solving the requirements for the economic and social development of the country;

b) It promotes basic and prospective scientific research for achieving original solutions needed for the economic and social development of the country and for increasing the contribution of scientific research to the enrichment of the national and world heritage of knowledge;

c) It establishes for ministries and the other central bodies objectives of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress that are of special importance for the national economy and social life;

d) It is responsible for the fulfillment of the objectives of scientific research and technological development and for the quality and efficiency of the results obtained;

e) It establishes measures for providing for the participation of scientific researchers and technological engineers in the utilization of the results in production up to the achievement of the objectives at the stipulated parameters and in the further improvement of the technologies devised;

f) It provides for the intensification of the process of integration of scientific research and technological development with production and education, for closely connecting science with practical and social activity;

g) It is responsible for the activity of scientific and technical information and documentation and for the improvement and the continual raising of the efficiency of this activity;

h) It draws up the program of the domestic scientific events that are of special interest;

i) It coordinates and guides the entire work of scientific and technical creation and of raising and expansion of the horizon of scientific and technical knowledge of the masses of working people.

B. Regarding the Planning of the Activity of Scientific Research, Technological Development, and Introduction of Technical Progress

a) It prepares long-term forecasts regarding the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress and studies regarding the orientation and main directions of the development of science and technology and participates in the preparation of the forecasts of economic and social development;

b) It prepares the draft plan for scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress--a section of the sole national plan for economic and social development of Romania;

c) It initiates and draws up special programs for developing the branches and programs with a multidisciplinary character that involve the participation of units with different specialties in many fields of activity in order to solve the complex problems that appear in the process of the economic and social development of the country;

d) It draws up the research programs in the field of the recovery and reutilization of reusable material resources and seeks to provide by means of the plan the material, financial and valuta resources needed for carrying out these programs;

e) It prepares the draft plan for financing the objectives and tasks of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress;

f) It draws up methodological standards and proposals for indicators regarding the preparation of the plan for scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress and the manner of reporting the fulfillment of the tasks.

C. Regarding the Activity of Introduction of Technical Progress

a) It coordinates and is responsible for the introduction of modern technologies in the branches of the national economy, in order to achieve new sources of energy, optimally utilize all natural resources and reusable

material resources of all categories, obtain new materials and substitutes and create new types of machines, equipment, apparatus and installations, taking into account the requirements for the economic and social development of the country and in correspondence with the gains of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution;

b) It pursues the fulfillment of the plan for introduction of technical progress and is responsible for the complete fulfillment of the tasks, for the quality and efficiency of the results obtained and for the complete utilization of them in practice and social life;

c) It takes steps regarding the formation of mixed staffs composed of researchers, technological engineers, teaching personnel and design and production specialists that provide for the performance of the activity during the entire research-design-production cycle and seeks to shorten it;

d) It oversees the approval and the application in practice of the technologies devised and the products created and the patenting, under the conditions of the law, of the results obtained;

e) It oversees the degree of equipping and the manner of use of the technical-material base of the scientific research and technological engineering units;

f) It analyzes the proposals regarding the importation of raw materials, products, technologies and licenses and approves or rejects them, depending on their opportuneness and the possibility of achievement in the country;

g) It establishes measures for developing the activity of low-tonnage and small-scale production in the scientific research and technological engineering units on the basis of the technologies devised by these units;

h) It takes steps to rapidly apply in production the licenses resulting from importation and seeks to improve them.

D. Regarding International Scientific and Technical Collaboration ar Cooperation

a) It establishes relations of scientific and technical collaboration and cooperation of the Socialist Republic of Romania with all the socialist countries, with the developing countries and with the other states of the world on the basis of the general principles of the foreign policy of the party and the state;

b) It provides for the participation of the Socialist Republic of Romania in the implementation of joint research programs organized on an international level;

c) It concludes, in accordance with the law, agreements on international scientific and technical cooperation, seeks to increase the efficiency of these actions and establishes corresponding measures;

d) It draws up and submits for approval the programs of the domestic scientific events with international participation;

e) It analyzes the proposals of the central institutes and specialized academies regarding the participation of personnel in the field of science and technology in actions organized abroad.

E. Regarding the Organization of the Activity of Scientific Research, Technological Development, and Introduction of Technical Progress

a) It establishes measures for improving the organization of the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress, improving the content and raising the efficiency of this activity;

b) It analyzes the need for personnel according to branches and fields for the activity of scientific research and technological development and makes proposals for a sensible distribution of the work force in this activity;

c) It establishes measures for providing and using the technical-material base of the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress in order to concentrate the human and material potential in relation to the requirements for the economic and social development of the country;

d) It organizes, under the conditions of the law, and coordinates the activity of recruitment, certification and promotion of scientific research and technological engineering personnel;

e) It organizes and is responsible for the activity of professional and political training of scientific research and technological engineering personnel and of improvement and retraining of them, establishes, in accordance with the law, criteria regarding the specialization of research personnel and coordinates the plans for specialization;

f) It analyzes the structure according to branches and fields of the units with scientific research and technological engineering activity in order to continually improve it;

g) It analyzes and approves annually, on the basis of the structural standards provided by law, the organizational structure of the units with scientific research, technological engineering, and design activity. It checks on the compliance with the structural standards specific to these units;

h) It approves or rejects, under the conditions of the law, the proposals of the ministries and the other central bodies regarding the founding or reorganization of scientific research and technological engineering units.

F. Regarding the Activity of Supervision

a) It analyzes and oversees the way in which the ministries and the other central bodies, the central institutes, the specialized academies and the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania implement the policy of the party and the state in the field of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress;

b) It analyzes the way in which the ministries and the other central bodies provide the conditions needed for carrying out the programs and plan for scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress, the manner of utilization of the funds, technical-material base and personnel, and the cooperation between units;

c) It supervises the way in which the central institutes and the academies contribute to the development of the respective branch or field, provide for the use of the capacities of subordinate or component units, achieve the integration of scientific research and technological engineering with education and production and promote the achievement of scientific research and technologies on a basis of their own ideas;

d) It supervises the achievement of the objectives and tasks of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress provided in the plan, the approval of the new or improved technologies and products and their assimilation into manufacture, and the application of the results obtained in practice and social life;

e) It supervises the manner of achievement of low-tonnage and small-scale production and the patenting of the results of concluded research and oversees the performance of the activity of standardization and typification and the publishing of specialized works and periodicals;

f) It supervises the implementation of the party decisions and the country's laws referring to the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress.

G. Other Duties

a) It prepares draft regulatory acts and other regulations regarding the the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress;

b) It analyzes and gives advice on the proposals of the ministries and the other central or local bodies in reference to the organization and performance of the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress;

c) It establishes the duties and responsibilities of the leadership bodies of the council;

d) It performs any other duties provided by law.

Chapter III
Organization and Operation

Article 11. The National Council for Science and Technology is composed of:

a) Scientists, scientific researchers, technological engineers, teaching personnel, other specialists and working people who work in production units and other sectors of economic and social life;

b) Representatives of the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, other central state bodies, the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, and the Union of Communist Youth;

c) Representatives of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the central institutes and the specialized academies.

Article 12. The National Council for Science and Technology is composed of 203 members and has in its leadership a chairman, a first vice chairman, and vice chairmen.

The chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology is an activist in the party and state leadership and a scientist and is appointed by means of a presidential decree.

Article 13. The collective leadership body between the plenums of the National Council for Science and Technology is the council's leadership committee, composed of 31 members.

The leadership committee of the council organizes and is responsible for the implementation of the decisions of the National Council for Science and Technology.

The leadership committee of the council is composed of a chairman, a first vice chairman, vice chairmen, and members.

The chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology is also the chairman of the leadership committee of the council.

Article 14. The National Council for Science and Technology is convened in plenary sessions twice per year or whenever necessary by the chairman or at the request of at least one-third of the number of its members.

Article 15. The National Council for Science and Technology performs its activity in the presence of at least two-thirds of the number of its members and adopts decisions by means of an open vote with a majority of the members who compose it.

Representatives of state bodies and public organizations can be invited to the sessions of the National Council for Science and Technology.

Article 16. The decisions adopted by the National Council for Science and Technology are mandatory for ministries and the other central bodies, the central institutes and academies, industrial centrals, scientific research and technological engineering units and the other economic units.

Article 17. The National Council for Science and Technology in its entirety and each particular member are responsible to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and to the Council of Ministers for the entire activity of the council. Each member is responsible to the council and its chairman for fulfilling the tasks that are entrusted to him.

Article 18. The leadership committee of the National Council for Science and Technology meets once per month or whenever necessary and is convened by the chairman or at the request of at least one-third of the number of the members of the committee.

The leadership committee of the council performs its activity in the presence of at least two-thirds of the number of its members and adopts decisions by means of an open vote of the majority of the members who compose it.

In the case of a disagreement between the chairman and the majority of the members of the leadership committee of the council, the problem on which agreement has not been reached is submitted to the National Council for Science and Technology.

Depending on the nature and importance of the matters on the agenda, other persons can also be invited to the sessions of the leadership committee of the council.

Article 19. The council's leadership committee in its entirety and each particular member are responsible to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, to the Council of Ministers and to the National Council for Science and Technology for the implementation of the party's decisions and the country's laws in the field of science and technology.

Each member of the leadership committee of the council is responsible to it and the chairman of the committee for fulfilling the tasks that are entrusted to him.

Article 20. The leadership of the current activity of the National Council for Science and Technology is achieved by the executive bureau of the council.

The executive bureau of the National Council for Science and Technology is composed of the first vice chairman of the council, three vice chairmen of the council, one of whom is a minister state secretary, a state secretary, the chairman of the Commission for Forecasting and Planning the Development of Science and Technology, the director general of the Romanian Institute for Standardization, the director of the State Office for Inventions and Trademarks, the director of the National Institute for Information and Documentation and the secretary of the party organization.

The first vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology is a minister, a member of the government, and holds the position of chairman of the executive bureau of the council. In the absence of the chairman of the executive bureau his duties are performed by one of the vice chairmen, whom he designates for this purpose.

Article 21. The executive bureau of the National Council for Science and Technology in its entirety and each particular member are responsible to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, to the Council of Ministers, to the National Council for Science and Technology and to its leadership committee for the entire activity of the bureau. Each member of the executive bureau is responsible to the executive bureau and its chairman for fulfilling the tasks that are entrusted to him.

Article 22. The composition of the National Council for Science and Technology, the leadership committee and the executive bureau is approved by means of a presidential decree for a period of 5 years.

Article 23. Within the National Council for Science and Technology there operate widely representative specialized commissions according to branches and fields of scientific activity.

The specialized commissions analyze and discuss the main problems of the branch or field, prepare studies and make proposals for improving the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress in the future.

The number, name, duties, and manner of organization and operation of the specialized commissions are established by means of a regulation approved by the National Council for Science and Technology.

Article 24. The coordination and guidance of the activity of scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress according to branches and fields are achieved, in a unitary manner, by central institutes and specialized academies. The central institutes and the specialized academies operate under dual subordination, to the National

Council for Science and Technology and to the ministries and the other central bodies of the branch or field.

Article 25. The National Council for Science and Technology can have subordinate to it socialist units organized under the conditions of the law. The following units operate under the direct subordination of the National Council for Science and Technology:

a) The Romanian Institute for Standardization;

b) The State Office for Inventions and Trademarks;

c) The National Institute for Information and Documentation.

Chapter IV
Final Provisions

Article 26. The National Council for Science and Technology has a work apparatus.

The organization, operation, and organizational structure according to work departments and the maximum number of posts of the apparatus of the National Council for Science and Technology are approved by means of a decree of the State Council.

Article 27. Decree No 275/1973 on the Organization and Operation of the National Council for Science and Technology, which became Law No 91/1973, with the later amendments, and any other provisions contrary to the present decree are repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 4 March 1980.
No 60.

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CHURCH-STATE SITUATION IN SLOVENIA ASSESSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Mar 80 p 9

[Article: "Between Courage and Straits--How the Catholic Church Holds Its Own in Slovenia--Party Methods--Tito's Illness and Afghanistan Crisis Cause Restraint"]

[Text] An observer of state policy toward the church in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovania has sent us the following report.

Despite the threats with which the chairman of the "Socialist League" mass organization in Slovenia, Mitja Ribicic, and the chairman of the Slovene Commission on Religion, Stane Kolman, in mid-October last year tried to intimidate the "critical voices" that had suddenly been raised in the Slovene Catholic Church, the opposition by Slovene "critical Catholics" against state atheism reached a climax in November.

In a special supplement the Ljubljana church weekly, DRUZINA, critically discussed some burning questions in Slovenia. Four professors of the Theological Faculty in Ljubljana--Tone Stres, Franc Perko, Stefan Steiner and Franc Rode--subjected the official elementary school textbook "Society and Social Morality" to an analysis. Appearing in mid-November, the special supplement aroused interest particularly among the young and intellectuals in all Slovenia and also elsewhere in Yugoslavia.

In the special supplement Franc Perko wrote: "The trend toward developing an integral Marxist weltanschauung that also includes materialism or atheism is a universally adopted rule which is implemented in practice as far as possible." The schools in Slovenia, he said, are promoting a systematic atheization of the children, which therefore was no marginal phenomenon of "scientific education" but the conscious aim of those responsible in Slovene society. Perko definitely opposed such an educational practice by the party. He said that if those responsible insisted that the schools should teach Marxism in its entirety, including atheism, they were placing the faithful in a position of unequal rights running counter to basic human rights.

Perko also criticized the articles in the party statutes according to which religiousness is irreconcilable with membership in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia--the party. "Primarily the fact that membership in the LCY, the leading political organization in our society, excludes any form of religiousness," he stated, "divides the citizens into believers and unbelievers notwithstanding assurances that such a division does not exist in a political respect in our society because believers are free to be active in the Socialist League (the mass organization directed by the party). This is the deepest root of the believers' lack of equal rights here."

Initially the party reacted to this in a slow, confused and nervous manner. The first to attack the special supplement was the local paper LJUBLJANSKI DNEVNIK (Ljubljana Daily). The negative positions taken in this paper, if anything, created the impression of embarrassment. The way the special supplement was dealt with by the student paper TRIBUNA, for some time under ultradogmatic neo-Stalinist editorial direction, could not be taken seriously by hardly anyone. Franc Setinc, secretary of the Slovene party presidium, who in the past had untiringly fought against "clericalism," this time had nothing to say. He wrapped himself in silence after Ljubljana Archbishop Pogacnik at the end of July had published in DRUZINA his commentary "Church for Human Rights"--a reply to threats by Setinc against Franc Rode and other "critical Catholics."

Therefore the attack by Stane Dolanc, member of the Yugoslav party presidium, who otherwise would comment on church questions only seldom and with reserve, was unexpected. He accused DRUZINA of having exceeded the purpose of its publication with its special supplement, which he called "a provocation." By discussing the Yugoslav political system and the role of the believers in the church paper, the authors had excluded themselves from the democratic front of those who were building socialism. "The believers in our system of self-administration do not need a mediator who in the name of the faith and the church passes judgment on their equal rights or lack of equal rights." The clerical forces in Slovenia, according to Stane Dolanc, with the special supplement were out to take advantage of the Yugoslav economic crisis to "attack the fundamental achievements of our revolution." Dolanc's attack caused consternation among the population.

Attempts at Intimidation by the Secret Police

Other events in the Slovene Catholic Church upset the communist rulers even more. At a congress for students and intellectuals at the Theological Faculty of Ljubljana, Archbishop Pogacnik told more than 800 persons in attendance that his wartime predecessor Bishop Dr Gregorij Rozman, whom the communists after the war had sentenced in absentia to many years's imprisonment for alleged "treason against the people, collaboration and war crimes," had opposed the so-called liberation front because it was directed by godless communists. "History will judge whether or not his attitude was right," the archbishop said.

Following the remarks by Archbishop Pogacnik, the editor of DRUZINA, Francek Kriznik, openly commented at the congress on some topics that are taboo in Slovenia. He condemned the installation of bugging equipment at the summer house of Archbishop Pogacnik. He condemned among other things the mass murder committed by the partisans under communist direction after the war against about 12,000 Domobranci (militia). Having been taken prisoner by the British and forcibly sent back to Yugoslavia, they were killed without trial in Kocevje, Teharje and elsewhere in Slovenia. Kriznik also condemned the attitude of the communists toward the Christian socialists and other non-communist allies. The party had enlisted them in the political effort until it was able to assume all the power itself. Afterward the party had expelled all previous partners from political life and the life of society, including the well-known leftwing Catholic writer Edvard Kocbek.

At the end of November an event celebrating the Yugoslav national day took place at the Theological Faculty in Ljubljana. The chairman of the Association of Slovene Students of Theology, Stane Gerjol, stated that one's homeland could not be equated with a regime. The main speaker. Francek Kriznik, stressed the merits of Slovene priests, saying: "Without Christianity, without church and without priests no Slovene people would have come into being and none would continue to exist."

At the same time Kriznik advocated amendment of the article in the constitution according to which human rights were limited by "socialist interests." If socialism wanted to be humanist, it must not stand above man and his rights; rather, man and his rights had to stand above so-called socialist interests.

Now the party proceeded quickly and on several tracks. It tried to silence the "critical Catholics" with threats and by calling the secret police into action. The bishops were asked themselves to control the "clerical excesses." Otherwise they would risk losing "the benefits of coexistence and peace overnight." Priests supporting the regime were now awarded decorations and sent congratulatory telegrams on the occasion of anniversaries.

The party thus wants to divert the attention of the Slovene public from problems broached by the "critical Catholics." They want to make it clear to the bishops in no uncertain terms that almost everything is all right between church and state and that the "critical Catholics" were going it alone--enemies of Yugoslavia and Slovenia directed by emigres.

Thus the Council for Coordinating Relations With Religious Communities of the Socialist League condemned the DRUZINA special supplement as an attempt "under the mantle of scientific-philosophical discussion, to devaluate past constitutional achievements and particularly the cooperation between the self-administrative society and religious communities and the role of believers participating under equal rights in building a socialist society." The main address at the celebration of the Day of the Republic at the Ljubljana Theological Faculty had been tinged politically in similar fashion.

The members of the council, which also includes some Catholic priests and intellectuals devoted to the regime, demanded that the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church in Slovenia should on its own initiative prevent such occurrences.

On 8 December the Slovene secret police started an action against some "critical Catholics." The party had carefully selected the first victims of this new arbitrary action. The secret police proceeded neither against the four professors who had contributed to the special supplement nor against the editor-in-chief of DRUZINA. Such an action would have aroused unnecessary excitement. With searches of homes and interrogations it first tried to intimidate the younger critics who had long since been a source of discomfort for the party--Francek Kriznik and Vinko Oslak. Neither occupies an influential position in Slovene public life.

A former convinced Marxist, Vinko Oslak on several occasions had taken a stand against the church and Christianity. Later he converted to Christianity. Since then he has been able less and less to publish anything within the Slovene state borders. All the more, he spread his views in Carinthia and Trieste. Nevertheless in early November the Ljubljana weekly TELEKS in a series of articles about socialist morality published a contribution by him entitled "Not About Socialist Morality But About Moral Socialism" in which he openly expounded the inadequacies of a morality based on Marxism and atheism and the advantages of one founded on Christianity and theism. Oslak also advocated participation with equal rights in the building of socialism by all ideological forces. According to observers, the party took this article, which aroused great attention throughout Slovenia, as the occasion to proceed against the man.

The leading party and police authorities then tried circumspectly to justify their counterattack. At a session of the Socialist League, Mitja Ribicic compared the "very latest phenomena, such as above all the spreading of religious intolerance and, in the name of special religious rights, the calling for a religious war and the demand for a revision of the constitutional principles and the principles of the law concerning the religious communities" to the case of Kocbek, "in which at the time we rejected strongly and openly any attempt at revising our past and sullying the revolutionary tradition of the liberation front."

At this session Ribicic accused the "clerical remnants" of intending with their revision of the constitution "to procure for the church and its hierarchy again certain privileges in the school, in public media of information and in the life of society in general." These circles had never reconciled themselves to the fact that according to the Yugoslav constitution a religious or atheistic weltanschauung was a private matter. Even less it agreed that the church had to shed its political role and with its social and moral doctrine had to renounce its fight for political power. "The peculiarity of these new demands is that the authors no longer make a secret of their views but spread them with great effort and zeal particularly among young

theologians as well as throughout Slovenia....On the model of Eurocommunist parties, some extremists even demand that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia admit the believers to its organization. One can see Slovene flags without star, and mention is made of 'deserving and important Slovene men' like Ministers Korosec and Krek, Ehrlich and Rozman. Various old demands by emigres are being revived to investigate so-called mass murders said to have been committed against White Guardists after the war.

Ribicic tried to portray the activity of Catholics critical of the regime as the result of the "shaky and restive" international situation. "The causes of these phenomena must not be sought within our self-administrative society but abroad, where anticommunist and anti-Yugoslav circles are speculating politically on our economic crisis and national differences," he said. He condemned the trends in the church papers of DRUZINA of Ljubljana and NASA LUC of Klagenfurt, the celebration of Yugoslav national day at the Theological Faculty in Ljubljana, various "political congresses" and the ties with Slovenes abroad.

Vatican Appears To Be Embarrassed

Shortly thereafter Slovene Minister of the Interior Janez Zemljaric commented on the same questions. In his opinion, recently a small group consisting of theologians and some others had become more active within the Roman Catholic Church. "This action," he said, "is at variance with the good relations between church and state we have already attained and have judged positively on several occasions. In the name of some kind of special religious rights, this circle attacks Marxism as the ideological basis of our social development, attacks our constitutional order, the role of the League of Communists, the content and aims of our educational work and those priests who accept our socialist order of self-administration. They demand the introduction of religious instruction in schools and admission to public media of communication, particularly television, in order to become religiously active there. Following the politically highly transparent human rights campaigns in the West, they blabber and write about alleged lack of equal rights in public life hereabouts."

The tense international situation caused by the Afghanistan crisis, the catastrophic economic situation in Yugoslavia and the illness of the head of state and party, Tito, prompted the Yugoslav communists to take action. The party thought it was necessary for a time to relieve the front against the Catholic Church. The signal for a retreat was given by Vladmir Bakaric, a member of the Yugoslav party and state presidium, in an interview with the Croatian paper VJESNIK. The Slovene party only hesitantly followed suit. While the New Year's reception for representatives of the religious communities on the premises of the parliament of the Croatian Republic proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, Stane Kolman at a similar reception in Ljubljana mentioned his displeasure at "some events in the past few months" and particularly at the views of "four professors of the Theological Faculty."

The Slovene Catholic Church comprehended quickly in what a difficult situation Yugoslavia is at present. It thought it was inopportune now to burden the regime with additional confrontations. The church in Slovenia knows that religious freedom is greater in Yugoslavia today than it would be following "fraternal aid." Therefore Archbishop Pogacnik replied at the New Year's reception in a conciliatory tone. He described "the balance of relations between society and church" as "entirely satisfactory and unequivocally positive." Concerning the "events" mentioned by Kolman, the archbishops said only that it was "natural and understandable that there also should occur frictions and tensions between contrasting views of the world such as Christianity and Marxist materialism." Archbishop Pogacnik was silent about the police action against Kriznik and Oslak and expressed his thanks for the fact that recently not a single priest had been arrested or charged in court.

At present the so-called "critical Catholics" are silent. The four professors have not reacted to the charges of the party. System critics Kriznik and Oslak have not commented on the police measures. In the view of observers, the relative calming down in the Slovene Catholic Church is due not only to a decision by it not to cause any additional trouble for the party in light of the critical international situation and the domestic difficulties but also to the fact that for almost 2 years the Slovene Church has been virtually without vigorous leadership.

The aged Archbishop Jozef Pogacnik of Ljubljana, at the same time the metropolitan of all of Slovenia, offered his retirement to the pope already 2 years ago. His successor will be consecrated on 13 April. Soon 2 years will have passed since the death of Maksimilijan Drzecnik, bishop of Maribor. That diocese, the largest in Yugoslavia except for Zagreb, has remained vacant. At the moment it is administered by Bishop Vekoslav Grmic as capitular locum tenens. Laymen as well would not accept him as bishop of Maribor, not only in Maribor and in Slovenia but in Croatia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Many fail to understand his devotion to the regime and his anti-Roman attitude. The party has made various attempts to persuade the Vatican to appoint him bishop, even by secretly collecting signatures among priests. The Vatican appears to be embarrassed and so far has not reached a decision.

This vacillation by the Vatican depresses the small Catholic Church of Slovenia. It has always been loyal--according to some, even too loyal--to Rome. In such a situation the Slovene bishops are not in a position to adopt a uniform consistent and future-oriented stand vis-a-vis the communist rulers. In the church itself as well, particularly in pastoral care, this unresolved question has negative results. All these instances of insecurity accrue to the benefit of the party, which is stirring up the tensions within the hierarchy and in the church in general.

But the church in Slovenia has always behaved more loyally toward the communist regime than has the church in neighboring Croatia. The reason is that after the war the party proceeded against the Catholic Church in Slovenia in particularly brutal fashion. Archbishop Pogacnik, Bishop Janez Jenko from

Koper and Suffragan Stanko Lenic from Ljubljana spent years in prison at that time. Almost two-thirds of all Slovene priests were put in penitentiaries or labor camps in those years of Stalinist terror for no fault of theirs. Many joined the priests association loyal to the regime in order to save the pastoral care. Many older bishops and priests are still afraid of the party rulers with whom they must negotiate today and who were their accusers and judges in the past. They live in constant fear of history repeating itself. The younger priests are hardly burdened by all this experience. They therefore take a more courageous stand. Because of their lack of experience and ignorance of communist fighting methods, however, they have little feeling for the deeper problems of the church in a state in which the party wants systematically to render the population atheistic. The thinking of the consumer society as well has left its traces among quite a few young priests in Slovenia.

Meanwhile, "in the spirit of the liberation front," the communist regime is clearly striving for good relations with the Slovene bishops and priests. In mid-January Mitja Ribicic invited Archbishop Pogacnik to come to see him to discuss the "present sociopolitical situation" in a "spirit of mutual trust and respect."

At the same time the police filed a charge with the public prosecutor against Janko Tedesko, correspondent of the party paper DELO in Rome, and the editor-in-chief of the weekly TELEKS, Jure Apih, for having "offended a foreign state." Early this year Janko Tedesko had published in TELEKS an interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci in which, it is stated, "the supreme head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II, is grossly vilified."

This news came as a surprise to many in Slovenia. Some observers suspected that the charge was part of a clever scheme in which, while pretending vis-a-vis the hierachy that it did not tolerate any vilification of the pope, the party actually wanted to take revenge against TELEKS for having published articles that often displeased the party. On the whole TELEKS has reported on church and religious questions with understanding and even support.

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